EXPRESSIONS OF POLITENESS AND GRATITUDE : TOWARDS A GENERAL THEORY

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IBHA PRADHAN

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CERTIFICATE

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P.P. Sah

June, 1990

B.N. Patnaik
Department of Humanities and
Social Sciences
Indian Institute of Technology
Kanpur

SYNOPSIS

Name of Student: Ibha Pradhan Roll No.: 8310064

Degree for which Submitted: Ph.D. Department: Humanities and Social Sciences

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Name of Thesis Supervisors: P.P. Sah and B.N. Patnaik

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The present study has a two-fold character: first, it is a theoretical study of the notions of politeness (P) and gratitude (G); secondly, it is an empirical study of the verbalization of P and G in the urban, educated Hindi - Urdu speech community. The latter study is not intended as a description of the expressions of P and G used by the speakers belonging to this community but actually subserves our theoretical interests. The theoretical part sets out some basic principles which motivate expressions of P and G. A set of conditions is then postulated which characterise these expressions. It is proposed that expressions of P constitute the larger set and expressions of G are a subset of this set. Accordingly, the conditions which characterise expression of G are a subset of the set of conditions which characterise the expressions of P as a whole This expresses the idea that all expressions of G are expressions of P but not vice-versa.

The theoretical part of the study is concerned with the formulation of these conditions. No existing theory of politeness was found adequate to this task; in particular it was

noticed that the expressions of G had hardly been studied at all. The relationship between the two kinds of expressions, which forms a major concern of this study, has not been a subject of any study in this area so far. The formulation and explication of these conditions follows the path charted by the Speech Act Theory (SAT), but no claim has been made that the conditions will represent the set of ne-cessary and sufficient conditions. They merely represent an attempt to understand the nature of P and G and we would be happy even if the set is shown to be only the set of ne-cessary conditions for an expression to be counted as an expression of P or G as the case may be.

We accordingly postulate that the proposed set of conditions do not fully determine the choice of individual expressions. A number of socio-psychological variables, in addition to certain theoretical ones, may also play a role in this. For example, the choice of a particular expression of G may be, to a large extent, determined by the degree of gratitude to be expressed, which is determined by the nature of the situation. We call the 'degree of gratitude' a theoretical variable, since it refers to the degree to which some of the conditions set out in theory are realized in a given situation. A situation, for example, may fulfil the conditions to such a degree that it calls for the expression of a high degree of gratitude; another situation may call for a relatively lower degree of gratitude, and so on. This consideration required that we make a distinction between various categories of situations and accordingly between various categories of expressions on the basis of the degree of gratitude

demanded by the former and expressed by the latter.

In constructing the empirical study, one major consideration was to test whether the conditions we had postulated for P and G were actually met by the situations which were to be submitted to the respondents' scrutiny. The second consideration was whether the judgments we had made regarding the degree to which the conditions are fulfilled, and which were reflected in our categorization of the situations, were confirmed by the respondents or not. The third consideration was to see whether socio-psychological variables like age, sex, religion, level of education, medium of education, mother-toungue and work status played a role in the choice of expressions. The final consideration was to examine the extent to which the nature of the relationship between the participants affected the choice of the expression. Accordingly, an empirical study was conducted in which 100 respondents, belonging to different age groups, sex, religions, etc. were presented with a set of 30 hypothesized situations and a set of 13 expressions of P and G. The situations were constructed keeping in mind the conditions postulated in the theory and the degree of their fulfilment. The 13 expressions were further subcategorized into expressions of high, moderate and low degree of gratitude. The selection and subcategorization of the expressions was done through a pilot study involving 10 respondents.

The 100 respondents in the main study were asked to say which (of the 13) expressions they would use in each of the 30 situations presented to them. The 100 respondents knew our

categorization of neither the situations nor the expressions. We argued that if the respondents picked up high degree expressions for our high degree situations, low degree expressions for our low degree situations, and middle degree expressions for our middle degree situations, our theoretical assumptions would stand confirmed. Further, we would put the results of the study to a detailed statistical analysis to examine the role of the socio-psychological variables.

Ch. II of the thesis presents our theory of P and G; Ch. III describes the structures of the pilot and the main study; Ch. IV gives the results of the statistical analysis and our interpretations of the results and Ch. V presents the conclusions.

The results show that, by and large, our subcategorization of the conditions is confirmed by the respondents' choices of the expression to each situation. We take this as a confirmation of the conditions of P and G set out by us in Ch. II and of the principles on which they are based. The results further show that among the socio-psychological variables some play a role in the choice of expressions in certain cases but, on the whole, the effect of these variables is rather limited. However, the nature of relationship between the participants was seen to play an important role. Accordingly, a scale of 'Distance-from-the-Speaker' is proposed which attempts to formalize the speaker-hearer relationship for easier correlation with the choice of expressions.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Proper words in proper places, make the
true definition of style."

[Letter to a Young Clergyman, 9 Jan. 1720]

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. The Present Study

Approaches to the study of language can be divided into two major types: structural and functional. The structural approach treats language as a formal system and claims that the properties of this system can be studied independently of its use. Its main preoccupation, therefore, is to formulate rules and principles which govern the structure of natural languages. The conditions imposed on a formal grammar are intended to ensure that from a finite specification of rules, generation of an infinite set of sentences constituting the given language is possible. In this sense, a formal grammar 'predicts' the set of grammatical sentences in a language without taking recourse to the meaning or use of sentences.

Functional approaches (such as those of the Prague School, the Firth-Halliday School, and various others) deny the basic premise of formal grammars that language can be characterized as a purely formal system and that the meaning and use of sentences are irrelevant to this characterization. According to the functionalists, language is basically an instrument of social interaction, and this basic feature of language determines its form. Accordingly, the form of a sentence cannot be isolated as an abstract,

mathematical object, and predictions of the grammaticality of sentences based on their formal properties alone must remain suspect. The unit of the study of language is not 'sentence' but 'utterance' and grammar does not limit itself to the sentence. The notion of 'utterance' or 'expression' subsumes the idea of use, and it is assumed that the features of its use determine the form of the utterance. 'Utterances' are, of course, taken to mean utterance-types and not tokens.

Functional grammars do not claim to be able to predict the occurrence of individual utterances. Much of the work in functional grammar today is concerned with the study of those aspects of language use which would explain the structure of the clause. However studies of those areas of language use which are usually left out when the focus is on propositional referential speech, e.g. performatives, deference, politeness, taboo forms, male and female speech, etc. have gained ground in an effort not so much to predict the use of these various kinds of forms involved, but to understand better the various kinds of pragmatic factors relevant to the study of language.

The present study focuses on one such area of language use, namely, the use of certain expressions to convey gratitude. The expressions studied are those used by the urban middle class speakers of Hindi. Our approach to the study of these expressions may be characterized as

philosophical rather than descriptive. Our purpose in studying the expressions of gratitude used by the urban middle class Hindi speakers is not to provide a detailed and accurate description of these expressions, but to study the general conditions, or criteria, for the use of these expressions and to investigate the extent to which the applicability of these criteria is affected by certain socio-psychological variables. Accordingly, the study has a theoretical part and an empirical part. In the theoretical part we are concerned with questions like: When is an expression of gratitude used? How do expressions of gratitude vary in the degree of gratitude expressed and to what features of the situation do these variations correspond? How are expressions of gratitude related to, and different from, expressions of politeness? and so on. The empirical part concerns itself mainly with the limiting effect of the socio-psychological variables on the criteria, although it also aims to provide an indirect verification of the hypotheses put forward in the theoretical part. The design of the empirical part consists of a set of hypothesized situations and an experiment in which 100 respondents were asked to select the expressions they would use in each hypothesized situation. The respondents were categorized according to sex, age, religion, mother-tongue, level of education, medium of education at school and and work-status and their responses were analyzed

for the effect of these variables. The complex analysis was carried out on a computer and detailed results were obtained. These results are set out in Ch. III. Finally, another factor, the nature of relationship between the speaker and the hearer in a gratitude situation was also analysed for its effect, since this factor did not figure in the theoretical explanation. The results of this analysis appear in Ch. IV.

Our justification for including the theoretical part in the thesis is as follows: when expressions like those of gratitude, politeness, promise, warning etc. are taken as units of study, it is assumed that they have somehow been already identified as such. We are aware from the relevant literature (e.g., Stubbs, 1983; Leonarde, 1984; Asa Kasher, 1984; Frank, 1989) that such exercises have been undertaken in the framework of the Speech Act Theory (SAT) (Searle, 1970) for promising, warning, naming, etc. but we are not aware of any such exercise in the context of expressions of gratitude and obligation. Expressions of these kinds have been generally studied from ethnographic viewpoint (e.g., Brend, 1978; House and Kasper, 1981). It is our effort in the theoretical part of this study to establish the identity of gratitude expressions. We shall try to postulate a set of conditions which an expression must meet in order to be classified as an expression of gratitude. It is only after such characterization has been completed that we can move on

to the empirical part of our study which is to identify the roles the socio-psychological variables might play in determining the use of such expressions.

The theoretical part provides the foundation for the empirical part in another sense. Taking the conditions (or criteria) as our basis, we construct a set of hypothetical situations which would call for an expression of gratitude or politeness. The criteria are utilized for classifying the situations into three types: High Degree Situations (HDSs) in which the conditions manifest themselves in the highest degree, Moderate Degree Situations (MDSs) in which they are expressed in a lower degree and Low Degree Situations (LDSs) in which they find the lowest manifestation. It would not be possible to classify the situations in such a way until a theoretical basis for the classification had been laid.

The empirical study elicits the responses of 100 respondents to these situations in terms of the expression (of gratitude or politeness) they would use in each situation. Since the situations were classified into High, (Hi) Moderate (Mo) and Low (Lo) Degree Situations, the expressions too had to belong to these corresponding classes. Classification of the expressions into these three classes (High Degree Expressions or HDEs, Moderate Degree Expressions or MDEs and Low Degree Expressions or LDEs) had, of course, to be done independently of the situations. For

this purpose, a pilot study was carried out (Ch. III). Starting with 26 expressions, the pilot study finally selected 11 expressions (plus two other choices: No Expression, or Silence (No), and Any Other Expression: Specify (Ot)). The study partially aimed at finding out whether the respondents' responses would confirm our classification of situations into Hi, Mo and Lo Degree Situations on the basis of our theoretical assumptions. If the independently classified expressions correlated well with our classification of the situations, we could derive some degree of confidence in our theory and the concepts used therein.

Before we get into the details of the study, however, we must dispose of some preliminary issues. The first of these must be our juxtaposing of gratitude and politeness at several places above. The issue of the relationship between them will inevitably occupy us in the theoretical part, hence we shall say nothing more about it here except to note that often the same expression (e.g. Thank you, Dhanyavaad, etc.) may be used by the same person to convey gratitude on one occasion and merely out of politeness, on another. Obviously, if we wish to be able to distinguish the two uses, we must be able to distinguish the conditions of their use, where 'conditions' would include reference to such things as the participants, their roles, their perception of the situation, their relationship, and so on, all of which

and more will be our subject of discussion in the theoretical part.

The second issue concerns our assumption underlying the present research that gratitude, or the expression of gratitude, can be made the subject of empirical study. One may not deny that a theoretical study of 'gratitude' is possible but may view the idea of an empirical study with some suspicion. A few observations therefore seem to be in order.

The functional approach to language, to which we have made a reference above, views expression of feelings as a function, indeed an important function, of language. We think it will be generally agreed that gratitude is a feeling. The expression of gratitude, therefore, must be considered a legitimate function of language and, as such, a legitimate subject of study. We need not be put off by the fact that gratitude is a feeling, a subjective experience, and therefore, in the opinion of some people, unsuitable for an empirical study. Though gratitude may be a feeling, or an emotion, its expression through language is an empirical fact and we make our approach to the subject of gratitude through its expression. An expression of gratitude is no different from a greeting, a warning, a promise, and so on: in all cases we do things with words. It should therefore be possible to take the same approach, conceptual and empirical, to the study of expressions of

gratitude as to these other categories of speech act.

It may, however, be objected to that an expression of gratitude is an expression of a feeling whereas a warning, a promise, etc. are not expressions of feelings. Being expressions of feelings, expressions of gratitude are creative and we cannot tie down the speakers to certain fixed expressions. How, then, can we conduct an empirical study of the sort we have attempted?

The objection might be answered by looking more closely at the two main senses in which creativity in the use of language is generally understood and by relating them to the 'individual' vs the 'social' functions of language. The two senses in which creativity in the context of language use, language acquisition, etc. is generally understood are the following: first, the sense of 'creative' that Chomsky has made popular refers to the ability of the speaker-hearers of a language to produce and understand an infinite number of sentences using the finite number of rules of the language which they are supposed to have internalized (see, e.g., Chomsky 1965: 6). Speakers regularly produce and understand sentences they have never heard before. In this sense of 'creative', language is said to be 'stimulus-free'. The native speaker's creativity stems from the set of rules of the language that he has internalized, since the rules are such that they make the production and interpretation of an infinite number of sentences possible. The second sense

in which the term 'creativity' is used in the context of language is the one that occurs when we talk about "creative writing". Insofar as "creative writing" refers to the 'creative' use of language (and not to the creative ideas it contains), it refers to the "twists of words and phrases that do not conform to what is most frequently produced by most people" (Dulay and Burt 1978; 66). "Creativity in this sense refers to the independence of some individuals from some tendency or norm set by the majority" (Ibid).

Let us now turn to what we have termed the 'individual' vs the 'social' uses of language. The recent debate whether 'self expression' or 'communication' is the essential function of language has not lead to much enlightment. In the last analysis, self-expressionists also allow room for communication and communicationists reciprocate by admitting self-expression. To us the individual vs social distinction seem to be the most useful one to make. It should be pointed out that this distinction does not correspond exactly to the self-expression vs communication one. We label a use of language 'social' when it promotes a social goal e.g. establishing or maintaining relationships between the members of a community. An expression used to promote a social goal may not neccessarily communicate anything beyond the desire on the part of the speaker to establish or maintain a relationship. In other words there may be no 'content' which he wishes to communicate. Similarly, there

may be instances of the communicative use of language which do not promote any social goal, e.g. the goal may be simply to communicate information. On the other hand, a use of language which is intended as self-expression may end up promoting great social goals. A good example is the Ramacharitmanas by the Hindi poet Tulsidas which he claimed he wrote for his own happiness but which is now acknowledged as a work that gave a much-needed direction to the Hindu society by setting out the individual, social and moral goals for it to follow. There can, of course, be instances of self-expression which do not go beyond the individual function: the category therefore must be retained.

Expressions of gratitude in the normal day-to-day interactions between the members of a society seem obviously to fall in the category of the 'social' use of language. Gratitude (to someone other) not expressed, or expressed to oneself, seems as strange as politeness not expressed, or expressed to oneself. Expressions of gratitude and politeness are a major instrument the use of which keeps the bonds between the members of a society well-cemented and strong. They are used profusely and extensively both side by side with and in addition to reciprocating actions. Many are the occasions when, were we to be deprived of the opportunity to use an expression of gratitude, we would feel cheated and betrayed.

Whenever such a widely-felt emotion or feeling is to be expressed so often by so many, it is somewhat inevitable that individual creativity should yield place to the use of certain set expressions, particularly because not every individual user of a language is creative in the only sense of creativity relevant here, viz. the second one above. There <u>are</u> novel and creative ways of being grateful but they are not given to everyone. Most people are content to use the commonly used expressions. This should not, however, be taken to mean that they are not really grateful. One who is not 'creative' in the expression of gratitude is not neccessarily lacking in the 'feeling' of gratitude, as anyone who has been at the receiving end of gratitude would testify. The failure to be creative in the expression of gratitude is not always due to the absence of the feeling of gratitude but is, in most cases, due to the lack of facility in the use of language. If one demands evidence for this rather common observation, one may be asked to observe the 'paralinguistic' or 'kinesic' features accompanying the expression of gratitude by a sincerely grateful person. Despite the use of a 'hackneyed' linguistic expression, there will be evidence from the facial expression, the body posture, movements of hands and eyes which will tell the receiver whether or not what he is receiving is genuine gratitude.

We feel, therefore, that it is entirely legitimate to treat the 'expressions of gratitude' to be genuine articles and to classify them according to the degrees of gratitude they express. Our study reveals that expressions purporting to express different degrees of gratitude correlate rather well with the situations we have hypothesized and classified into different classes according to our criteria - a fact that would be difficult to account for if we treated the expressions as 'phoney'. The 'formulaic' nature of the expressions is not evidence of their 'phoney' character: it is merely a pointer that in 'social' uses of language 'formulas' are used because they are convenient to use: witness greetings and other polite expressions.

Finally, we must affirm that what is being studied in this work is not so much gratitude as "expressions of gratitude". Of course, in order to understand the latter we must explicate the former. We try to do so in terms which are conceptually clear, commonly understood and are shared by explanations which have been offered for other speech acts. We are, in this work, not concerned with the explanation of gratitude as an emotion, or a feeling, but merely as a concept which can be operationalized in behavioural terms. The behavioural terms are the expressions. In this respect 'gratitude' is like politeness. Though the distinction between them is what we next turn to, it is clear that just as politeness is a trait

of behaviour, so can (expression of) gratitude too be studied as a trait of behaviour.

II. Politeness and Gratitude: A Retrospect

Before turning to our own distinction between politeness and gratitude, it may be useful to cast a backward glance at the studies relevant to our work. So far as expression of gratitude is concerned, it may not be an exaggeration to say that the field is almost barren. With the possible exception of Apte (1974), there are not even paper-length studies available. Such studies as are available either deal with the subject in passing (Blum, Kulka, 1987) or tend to concentrate on politeness more (Zimin, 1981; Lakoff, 1975; Clark and Dale, 1980 etc.). It is possible to glean from such studies a variety of descriptive accounts of certain expressions. For example, the expression 'Thank you' of English has been variously listed as a response to a compliment, a signal of polite acknowledgement, an expression of gratitude or obligation, etc. (e.g., Herbert, 1986; Coulmas, 1981; Apte, 1974).

When, however, we start looking for theoretical studies, we have to be content with studies of politeness of which there are many available. This distinction and/or similarity between expressions of politeness and gratitude being rather important for our purposes, we cannot afford to ignore these studies even if they finally prove to be of

limited value to us. We shall therefore start by making a summary of the existing approaches to the study of politeness.

These studies may be divided into two main types:

(A) Rule-Based Approaches (RBAs)

(B) Non-Rule-Based Approaches (NRBAs),

The following is a summary presentation of the various approaches subsumed under these two types:

APPROACHES TO POLITENESS

(A)----------(B)

Rule-Based	Non-Rule-Based
I. Leech, G.N.	1. Stylistic
1. Tact	2. Conventional
2. Generosity	3. Situational
3. Approbation	4. Interpersonal
4. Modesty	(a) Non-verbal displays (Kinesic)
5. Agreement	(b) Vocal modifications
6. Sympathy	(c) Verbal expressions.
7. Phatic Maxim	
II. Lakoff, R..	
Rules of Pragmatic Competence	
1. (Be Clear)	
2. Be Polite	
(a) Formality (Keep Aloof)	
(b) Hesitancy (Give Options)	
(c) Equality (Be Friendly)	

All approaches to politeness treat it as a matter of using the right words and the right actions on the right occasion. What words and actions are right for an occasion

is given by the conventions of each society. The two main types of approaches that we have identified therefore do not differ in the subject matter that they deal with: both try to specify the conventions which govern polite behaviour in a society. What they differ in is their treatment of this subject matter and this is what we shall try to bring out in the following account of these approaches.

(A) The Rule-Based Approaches (RBAs)

As the name suggests, these approaches deal with the phenomenon of politeness by extracting the rules or maxims that characterise the conventions governing the use of words and actions on the relevant appropriate occasions. The two major accounts of this type are The Politeness Principle (PP) proposed by Leech (1983) and the Rules of Pragmatic Competence proposed by Lakoff (1972, 1973, 1974, 1975).

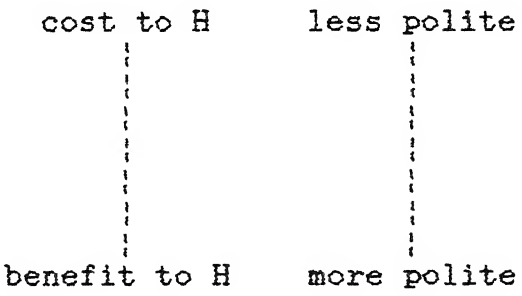
Leech's PP is stated as follows: "Minimize (other things being equal) the expression of impolite beliefs" and correspondingly "Maximize (other things being equal) the expression of polite beliefs."

Leech explicates the PP by dividing it into a number of maxims e.g. maxims of Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement, etc.. Tact and Generosity require minimizing cost to the other and benefit to self, and maximizing benefit to other and cost to self; Agreement requires minimizing disagreement and maximizing agreement between self and other. Similar cost benefit calculations

are made for other maxims. Leech's concept of politeness is thus based on a Cost/Benefit Scale (rather than, e.g., on the better-known notion of Face Threatening Acts of Brown and Levinson, 1978). In other words, his definition of politeness takes into account the nature of the actions themselves rather than how one manages the performance of such actions (see Dillon et al, 1985: 454). This could lead to rigid notions of politeness and impoliteness but Leech avoids this consequence by relativizing politeness to expectations in a situation. The notion of 'Relative Politeness' reflects the fact that people use the term polite in a relative sense. In other words politeness is "relative to some norm of behaviour which for a particular setting, people regard as typical. The norm may be that of a particular culture or language community," (p. 84). In this study, Leech however confines himself to Absolute Politeness. Leech's maxim of Tact sets up a framework for handling illocutionary force and perlocutionary effect by defining the PP more precisely. This maxim discusses politeness with reference to four functions, viz. competetive (asking, ordering, etc.), convival (greeting, inviting, thanking, etc.), collaborative (reporting, instructing, etc.) and conflictive (threatening, cursing, etc.). It is according to these four illocutionary functions that politeness differs in kinds and degrees.

Among the various categories of Searle's illocutionary acts (Leech, 1983: 105-106), the Tact maxim applies to directives and commissives which refer in their propositional content X to some action A. This A may be evaluated on the basis of what the speaker (S) assumes to be its cost or benefit to S and the hearer (H). For example, on the basis of X, 'Peel the potatoes' assumes more cost and less benefit to H than 'Sit down' which assumes comparatively less cost and more benefit to H. Similarly 'Sit down' assumes less benefit to H and is therefore less polite to H than, 'Have another sandwich', which assumes more benefit to H and is consequently more polite to H. Thus placed on the cost-benefit scale, the position of the above three propositions would be the following (see Leech, 1983: 107):

(1) Peel the potatoes.
(2) Sit down.
(3) Have another sandwich.



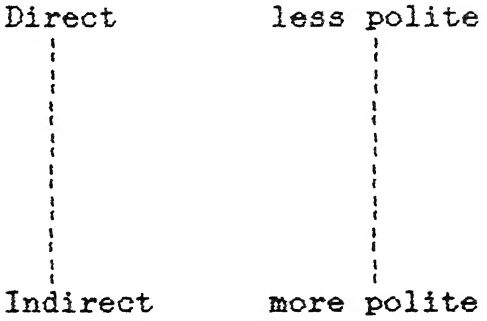
Leech similarly has an 'indirectness scale' where we keep X constant (where X = e.g. Peel the potatoes) and gradually increase the degree of politeness by using more and more indirect illocutions. The indirect illocutions are more polite because, first, they increase the optionality and, second, they have a more "diminished" and "tentative"

force. Viewed on the indirectness scale the position of X (Peel the potatoes) in terms of various degrees of politeness would be as follows (c.f. Leech, 1983: 108):

(4) Peel the potatoes.

(5) Will you peel the potatoes?

(6) Could you possibly peel the potatoes.



The Tact maxim has two aspects: positive and negative. The 'positive' aspect is "maximize benefit" and the 'negative' aspect is "minimize cost" to H. The idea is that if some action which is beneficial to H is proposed, then S's opportunity of saying 'No' should be reduced.

The 'optionality' scale specifies how far the performance of X is at the choice of S or H. Besides the above three, there are two more scales. These scales operate on two axes: the 'vertical axis' which measures the degree of AUTHORITY exercised by one participant over the other, and the 'horizontal axis' which measures the degree of 'SOLIDARITY' or the social distance i.e. the role of one person in relation to the other. Leech explains this by the following example:

"A lecturer might feel it reasonable to say to a student Get that essay to me by next week, but not Make me a cup of coffee. In the former case he would be exercising

his legitimate authority over the students' academic behaviour; but in the latter case, he would be stepping outside that recognized role. Again rights and duties are important in defining the standing of participants in relation to one another" (Leech, 1983: 126).

The difficulty with Leech's account of politeness arises basically with its absolutistic bias, i.e. its attempt to rely more on the intrinsic politeness value of actions rather than how these actions are performed. Despite his attempt to relativize his concept of politeness, the bias remains quite pronounced and has been the object of criticism (e.g. Dillon et al, 1985).

Our interest in Leech's work lies less in its treatment of the question "How may one be polite?" than in its treatment of the more basic question "Why is one polite at all?" or "What is the basic paradigm of politeness?" Leech throws ample light on this question at the very outset of his work. He rightly says that "politeness concerns a relationship between two participants whom we may call <u>self</u> and <u>other</u>" (p. 131). 'Self' is identified with S and 'other' with H. The entire structure of politeness revolves round the relationship between S and H. In all cases of thanking, apologizing, etc., there is an implied transfer of 'goods' or 'services' from H to S. This transfer may have been in the past, may be going on in the present or may take place in future. "... if you <u>thank</u> some one, you presuppose

a previous transfer of goods or services from H to S.... The metaphor whereby deeds make us 'debtors' or 'creditors' of one another applies not only to good deeds (favours), but also to bad deeds (offences), so that apologizing, like thanking, can be regarded as an acknowledgement of an imbalance in the relation between S and H, and to some extent, as an attempt to restore the equilibrium" (Leech, 1983: 124-125).

Thus the tacit assumption which underlies the whole effort of thanking, apologizing etc. is a desirability to maintain equilibrium. The goal is not only of "restoration of equilibrium" but often it is the "reduction of disequilibrium" (p. 125).

In this work we shall propose a paradigm which covers both gratitude and politeness. The paradigm suggests an alternative approach to the study of politeness though some of the basic elements remain the same. The advantage gained is that now the same paradigm can be extended to include both expressions of gratitude and politeness. Since our account takes into consideration degrees of gratitude, an account of politeness which is relativized to the various parameters of the paradigm may be derivable from it though it is not our purpose to do so in the present work.

The second major rule-based account of politeness that we shall consider here is given by Robin Lakoff in various

works (Lakoff 1972, 1973, 1974 and 1975). Lakoff states the following three rules of politeness:

R-1 Formality (Keep Aloof)

R-2 Hesitancy (Give Options)

R-3 Equality (Be Friendly).

These rules apply to speech and actions alike. They are claimed to be universally applicable although the conditions on their applicability are different in different cultures. Even within a culture, Lakoff (1975) asserts, what one says is not so important as why, when and how one says it.

R-1 i.e. "Keep Aloof" intends to create a distance between S and H. Emotional content is absent in utterances which follow this rule. Thus by talking about 'carcinoma' rather than 'cancer', the doctor, according to Lakoff, maintains a distance from, and superiority over, his addressee. The use of titles such as Sir, Mr., Dr., etc., also tend to create a distance between S and H.

R-2 i.e. "Give Options" maintains that politeness means giving options to H, although sometimes S knows very well that it is he (S) who has the power to enforce a decision. Use of euphemisms may be one of the devices of R-2 politeness.

"Just as technical terms for unmentionables are R-1 devices, euphemisms are in the realm of R-2: they retain the presumption that the topic under discussion is forbidden,

but they seek to dispel the unpleasant effect by suggesting that A need not interpret what is being said as 'THAT' but since he obviously does, this is again conventional. However, he is at least apparently being given a chance of opting out, pretending that the unmentionable topic has not been broached, and this is what makes euphemisms a R-2 device" (Lakoff, 1972: 300).

In the following example which Lakoff (1972) cites, H is given a chance of opting out:

(7) Harry sold his daughter into white slavery because he was so ¦ hard up ¦ / ¦ * underprivileged. ¦

This example is opposed to the following, and here R-1 is in operation:

(8) Many of the residents of the ghetto are ¦ underpriveleged ¦ / ¦ * hard up ¦

Lakoff clarifies that we would respond differently emotionally to R-1 and R-2 devices. Consequently a careful speaker will "tailor" his device to his requirements.

The example (7) "would be touchy if we were emotionally involved, but no, we are remote, so touchiness doesn't arise. Euphemisms grant that the subject is touchy, but pretend that it is not the matter under discussion" (Lakoff, 1975: 66).

R-3 viz., "Be Friendly" seeks to make the addressee feel that the speaker likes him and wants to be friendly with him, is interested in him and so on" (Lakoff, 1975: 67). This friendly effect can be achieved by using expressions like 'You know', 'I mean', etc.. Back-slapping and joke-telling may be considered R-3 devices.

In order to see whether the rules have applied correctly or not, "one must be able to refer to assumptions about the social context of an utterance as well as to other implicit assumptions made by the participants in discourse" (Lakoff, 1973).

Lakoff discusses not only the verbal expression of polite behaviour but also the non-verbal expression. For example, the Standard American society may consider belching after a meal an impolite act which violates R-1 but in the classical Chinese society, a belch may be seen as a result of observance of R-3. The American society considers belch as impolite because, "... any internal process, made explicit and evident to the outside world, was an intrusion on other people's privacy. So you would attempt to suppress or conceal any such act in public," (Lakoff, 1975: 68-69). The same is the case with coughing or sneezing. Contrary to this, belching in the Chinese society is viewed as "an expression of repletion, indicating satisfaction with the quality and quantity of the feast, the more powerful because it is (supposedly) involuntary" (Lakoff, 1975: 69).

Lakoff is evidently aware of the fact that both intrusion on somebody else's privacy and maintenance of friendly relations call for politeness but she does not assign due importance to certain other important aspects. Politeness comes into picture not only in suppression or concealment of acts of intrusion and the like, but also in apologizing when such acts as intrusion on the other person's privacy occur. Thus politeness is apologizing for intrusion as much as avoiding intrusion, so that if one happens to cough, by mistake, on somebody's face, then politeness demands that one must apologize. Lakoff dismisses the basic question (viz., why are we polite at all?) very lightly. In our opinion this question requires serious attention.

Another point which needs mentioning in this connection is that, irrespective of the context, there are various degrees of politeness as reflected in the following expressions:

(9) Please open the window.

(1Ø) Would you mind opening the window?

(11) May I request you to open the window?

Of these three expressions, (11) is the most polite and (9) the least, while (1Ø) has an intermediate degree of politeness but Lakoff makes no reference to this fact. She provides no answeres to questions such as: Is giving ten options more polite than giving, for example, two options?

or What is the relation between (12), (13) and (14)?

(12) Please help me.

(13) I am sorry I could not help you.

(14) Thank you very much for your help.

Lakoff does not aim at providing a complete framework for the study of politeness. It is, therefore, not surprising that questions like the above and many others remain unanswered. We feel that for a full understanding of the phenomenon of politeness, a more comprehensive theory which also includes expressions of gratitude in its coverage, is essential. Although the present work does not aim at providing a full account of the politeness phenomenon, it seeks to make a beginning by outlining a theory for the use of gratitude expressions. It is anticipated that the theory can be extended to the phenomenon of politeness.

(B) The Non-Rule-Based Approaches (NRBAs)

The approaches to politeness already discussed view politeness as arising out of the observance of certain principles, maxims or rules in the use of language during social interaction. The approaches we are now going to discuss do not in general lay down any rules or maxims. Rather, they try to understand politeness in terms of social conventions, psychological attitudes and situational specificities which characterise polite verbal behaviour in different linguistic communities. What differentiates this

approach from the former is that there is no deliberate effort to set up universally applicable maxims and rules though explanation of a general nature are not excluded from its purview. These explanations variously attribute politeness to features of style of language use, social conventions, interpersonal attitudes and the like. The emphasis in these approaches would appear to be more on understanding the phenomenon of politeness in different communities than on the formulation of neccessary and sufficient conditions of politeness. This is not to say that the explanation provided by these approaches cannot be translated into rules and principles by someone who is inclined to do so, nor that some sort of conditions cannot be extracted from their descriptions, but only that these considerations are not paramount in the minds of those who have proposed these accounts.

One can identify the following major types of theories among the NRBAs.

1. **Stylistic**: It is possible to view politeness in the use of language as almost entirely a matter of style. One might deduce from Joos (1967: 11) classification of styles that politeness is a product of speech style. Joos lists the following five styles:

   (1) Frozen

   (2) Formal

   (3) Consultative

(4) Casual

(5) Intimate

These styles, Joos observes, are used by speakers of the same tongue according to needs and occasions. Appropriate use of speech styles depends on the type of situation we are in. In one context the formal style might be more appropriate (and so more polite) than the casual, while in another case it may be the reverse. For instance, one is more likely to use a formal style while talking to one's teacher or one's employer but while talking to friends, casual and intimate styles would be used. On the contrary it would count as impolite to use a casual or intimate style with the teacher or the employer and formal or frozen with friends.

Garfinkel (1972) conducted an ethnomethodological experiment in which he asked his students to use the formal style with the members of their family. The consequence was that this unexpected formality was interpreted as impolite and disrespectful by the members of their families. Thus politeness would seem to depend, among other things, on the type of speech style one uses in a context.

2. **Conventional**: Politeness has much to do with appropriate and inappropriate ways of speaking and these are decided for each community by convention.

"A convention ... is a behavioural regularity which a community maintains because they mutually know that they

have maintained it in the past and that it has solved for them a recurring kind of coordination problem" (Bennett, 1979; 176).

Politeness, in this view, is a facilitator of coordination between the members of a community and keeps the relation between them "well-oiled". Not to follow the relevant conventions is to place oneself outside the group and to risk the charge of being impolite, even antisocial or abnormal.

A study in this area was conducted by Julian House and Gabriele Kasper (1981) who discuss how different norms of politeness relating to interpersonal communicative strategies result in differing distributions of deference markers in German and English speech communities.

Another study was carried out by Brend (1978), who highlights the probable areas where differences may exist and cause difficulties for members of two different cultures and languages. The probable areas mentioned are grammar, word connotations, forms of address and forms of reference. The reason why difficulties may arise is that the norms and conventions governing the two cultures are different and consequently may pose problems of interpretation.

Ferguson (1976) examines the use of interpersonal verbal routines such as greetings and thanks. He observes that the structure and use of these verbal routines is patterned i.e. they are ritualized. Ferguson quotes Goffman

(1971) in whose view politeness forms are "among the most conventionalized and perfunctory doings we engage in and traditionally have been treated by students of modern society as part of the dust of social activity, empty and trivial."

3. **Situational**: This approach asserts that the most important variable in politeness is the situation.

"Within a community one readily detects many situations associated with (or marked by the absence of) speech. Such contexts of situation will often be naturally described as ceremonies, fights, hunts, meals, love making and the like" (Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; 56).

A study was carried out by Susan Zimin (1981) to test a number of hypotheses among which the principal one was that the situation influences the degree of deference used. This hypothesis was supported by the study. For example it was found that in certain situations (which we may call situations demanding apologies) women received more deference (pledge to be polite) than men. To quote,

"... strategies of communication, such as how much deference to use, are very much dependent on the context in which the utterances are made (Zimin, 1981; 55).

Turning to Pandharipande's (1979) study, she states five syntactic structures of Hindi and arranges them in a hierarchical order:

(1) Passive

(2) Simple present

(3) Optative

(4) Future imperative and

(5) Imperative

It is believed that role relationships between S and H, implicit assumptions about the social context, etc., determine the social meaning of a syntactic pattern and contribute in a crucial way to the acceptability of a given sentence as being more polite or less. Based on such factors as stated above, Srivastava and Ira Pandit (1988) argue that a given hierarchy is not appropriate for all types of social situations. In other words, different contexts require different hierarchies.

4. **Interpersonal**: The interactional psychologists (Horst and Janney, 1985) assert that the main emotive task of the speaker who desires to maintain good relations with his partner is not to behave politely but supportively i.e. avoid interpersonal conflict instead of conforming to social expectations. Horst and Janney put it in the following way:

"The key idea is that there are supportive and non-supportive ways of expressing positive and negative feelings. The effective speaker generally attempts to minimize his partner's emotional uncertainity in all cases by being as supportive as possible."

This approach views emotive communication from vocal,

verbal and kinesic aspects; in other words, how people express, suppress or modify emotions in face-to-face speech, or how one accounts for politeness through verbal, vocal and kinesic cues of confidence (sense or lack of control), positive-negative affect (evaluation) and involvement (high-low intensity). In order to be polite one has to regulate these emotive cues. This approach also states four strategies for "face-work", namely:

(1) Supportive positive messages

(2) Non-supportive positive messages

(3) Supportive negative messages

(4) Non-supportive negative messages.

This approach claims that, "the techniques of supportiveness and interpersonal politeness are less abstract than rules of social politeness and are learned more easily. In expressing positive feelings about one's partner one should be direct, emphatic and affiliative."

The NBRAs to politeness represent quite a variety and it is difficult to say anything which would apply to all of them. Nevertheless, a few points of some generality can be made. The first three approaches (stylistic, conventional and situational) overlook the fact that the determining factors in politeness are not style, convention or situation taken singly. One cannot, for example, make distinctions of degrees of politeness by taking style alone, or convention or situation alone. All the three interact in determining

what degree of politeness is to be used. Style is important because it is one of the components governing choice of words, tone, etc.. Society has conventions which are followed according to the demand of the situation. A particular style used in a particular situation depends on the conventions of a particular society.

Aitchinson (1987; 108) cites an example where all the three, that is, situation, style and convention-play a role simultaneously. This situation "where it is essential to speak in the appropriate style is found among the Sabanun, Philippine tribe. If you want a drink, it is not sufficient simply to give the Sabanun equivalent of English, 'Please may I have a drink'. This utterance might cause a Sabanun speaker to praise you for your fluent Subanun, but he would not get you a drink! Drinking, particularly the drinking of beer, is a highly ritualized activity which progresses through a number of stages. At each stage, there is an appropriate style of speech, and your advancement in Subanun society depends on how well you cope with this."

Turning next to the interpersonal approach, we find that it attaches a great deal of importance to emotions and emotive communication i.e. communication of feelings and attitudes. Politeness has been negatively defined as "avoiding interpersonal conflicts rather than to confirming social expectations" (Horst and Janney, 1985; 282). Not only this, the idea of politeness is replaced by the idea of

interpersonal supportiveness.

" ... politeness consists of knowing how to express positive and negative feelings without threatening one's partner emotionally" (Horst and Janney, 1985; 292).

As already mentioned, although the aim of these interactional psychologists was to discover something about politeness which would be beyond rules like 'Give Options', 'Don't Impose', etc., what they come up with is strategies of positive and negative politeness which are nothing but rules in disguise. Robin Scarcella and Joanna Brunak (1981) and Goody (1978), also discuss strategies of social interaction-strategies such as expressing an interest in and noticing H, using in-group language, making small talk, hedging, being indirect, using deferential address terms, etc..

The way Horst and Janney present the strategies, it seems that we are supportive if we smile. One might be tempted to argue that this is not always the case since there are various types of smiles, not to mention that there is something like a sarcastic smile as well.

Horst and Janney assert that "it may not be possible to teach second language learners how to be polite in all situations, it is possible, however, to teach them a number of useful supportive techniques."

With respect to the above it is difficult to see how teaching politeness is different from teaching techniques,

because what politeness involves are basically ways and techniques of being polite. Besides, one could also argue that politeness is not being supportive all the time. There are occasions when one has to be, or wants to be, non-supportive but not impolite. What does one do in such a situation? Obviously, he has to find a middle way. Thus second language learners should not only be taught simply supportive techniques but also non-supportive but polite techniques.

Whereas such objections may be raised, it must be conceded that the subject has been dealt with extensively in this approach and due importance has been given to various aspects of polite behaviour such as vocal, kinesic and verbal.

Studies on 'Thank you'

As stated earlier, work on expressions of gratitude is rather scanty. Even such papers as are available discuss gratitude only in passing (e.g., Apte, 1974; Coulmas, 1981). The expression 'Thank you' has been discussed by Apte as an expression of politeness and gratitude. Herbert (1986), Pomerante (1978), Manes and Nessa Wolfson (1980), etc. all deal with the expression 'Thank you' as a response to a compliment. Out of these, Pomerante was the first researcher to draw attention to the topic of compliment responses. She reported twelve types of compliment responses some of them being 'appreciation token', 'comment

acceptance', 'praise upgrade' and 'scale down'.

Coulmas (1981) makes a contrastive study of 'Thanks' and 'apologies', arguing that such an analysis can help in bringing to light certain typological relationships between them. Thanks and Apologies, in his view, are speech acts which are culture-specific. They are part of polite behaviour in our society and presuppose some intervention in the course of events as a rationale of their performance. Both require an appreciative reaction and involve the S's interpretation. "They both play a vital role in verbal politeness ...," he observes.

Coulmas in his discussion of 'Thanks' does not distinguish between 'Thanks' as a consequence of mere politeness and 'Thanks' as a consequence of gratitude. This distinction will be made in the present study.

Becker and Patricia (1986), studied the use of 'Thank you' by pre-schoolers. They isolated factors of sex and status which were found to affect the use of 'Thank you'. Here 'Thank you' has been considered as part of polite behaviour.

Herbert (1986) focuses on the expression 'Thank you' as a response to a compliment. He indicates the importance of such contextual variables as listener, topic, setting, etc. in using a response strategy.

Apte presents a comparative sociolinguistic analysis of what he calls 'expression of gratitude' as used in Marathi

and Hindi speech communities on the one hand and in the American society on the other. Apte considers expression of gratitude to be an aspect of polite behaviour but does not distinguish between the two concepts - politeness and gratitude and uses them interchangeably. Discussing the 'American Scene', Apte says,

"The usage of gratitude expressions in American culture is much more extensive than in South Asian communities. Americans verbalize their gratitude for all sorts of big and small favours, for gifts and compliments; they use gratitude expressions in situations involving exchange of goods and services for monetary payments; they use them in a variety of other informal and formal situations, for example, cocktail parties, gathering of relatives and/or friends for special occasions, press conferences, entertainment shows etc..... The use of these gratitude expressions in the American speech community is so pervasive that it becomes almost mechanical."

Apte also considers an example of a literary or cultural event. An individual, he says, is designated to perform the ritual of thanksgiving to all persons and institutions for help. At this point it may be noted that giving thanks is not always an act of gratitude. It may just be an act of politeness. Apte too, while discussing cultural values accepts that in modern times this "ritual" of thanksgiving has become a part of duty. To quote Apte,

"Among all these cultural concepts the one of equating correct behaviour with duty is all-pervading. Since behaviour is determined by tradition, even new traits, once assimilated, are considered duty. Thus even the verbalization of gratitude in a very formal way at public functions or in books is now looked upon as duty."

In our view, however, verbalization at public functions is not an act of gratitude but one of politeness. To repeat, the present study finds it neccessary to postulate the concepts "politeness" and "gratitude" and distinguish the two.

As we shall see in the later chapters, expression of gratitude is affected by a number of variables such as age, sex, the nature of relationship between S and H etc.. There are even situations where expression of gratitude may be considered inappropriate. The reason is that the role-performance of the individual is obligatory and the acts of help are taken in the spirit of mutual cooperation. This same concept of 'mutual cooperation' may be extended to interaction among close friends and members of a family.

As Apte points out, life in a family is based on mutual obligation with clearly defined and well-understood roles. Hence expression of gratitude is out of place. The husband does not thank his wife for cooking meals for him or keeping the house tidy. This is because in a family, each one has what we may refer to as a 'reciprocal duty' and because it

is so, no gratitude is called for. In order to explain this let us refer to the example quoted by Apte from a Hindi novel. The hero, who has gone to England, is persuading his wife to join him there. He writes:

"You have done much for me for which I could praise you. But such praise would be like thanking a person who holds the plate for you at the table. This kind of over-grateful praise seems to me to be extremely formal and out of date .... I want to find in you something so heartful that without saying a single word I can praise you with all my being."

This same concept of 'reciprocal duty' holds for children as well. Parents have a 'duty' towards them: hence thanks are neither expected nor given. The society also defines some duties for children, hence when they perform them they too don't get thanks.

Love excludes gratitude, since love is understood as two becoming one (where the 'other' is seen as a part of 'self'): one is not grateful to oneself, thus the definition in terms of boundaries still holds. Only in this case boundaries of self are extended to include another individual.

Thus where there is reciprocity of duty, a person is entitled to receive gratitude only if he goes beyond the "call of duty" in protecting or promoting the other person's interests, where the norms of duty are determined socially.

For example, in the Western society, where parental duty is considered more or less fulfilled after the son is grown up and standing on his own feet, a remark like the following from an adult son who has been helped out of a difficult situation by the parent would be considered normal:

"I am very grateful to you, Dad, for all you did to save my job."

In the Indian context on the other hand, where parental duties are understood differently, the remark may be considered presumptions, even offensive. The difference lies in whether the son is considered to be under the permanent tutelage of his parents, or, as in the Western society, free of it once he is grown up.

The situation is different where the relationship is one of 'love'. The relationship is qualitatively different from that of 'duty'. The question of going beyond the call of duty does not arise at all, since no duty is involved within the boundaries of a single self. "Love" having been defined as the "coterminousness of individual boundaries" or as "two individual boundaries" or as "two becoming one", the norms of politeness and gratitude are inoperative. The two cases of "self-boundaries" and "coterminous boundaries" are, however not wholly identical since, "coterminous boundaries" may cease to be coterminous. When coterminous boundaries cease to be coterminous and 'love' ends or withers away, we see the individuals falling back on the

usual norms of politeness and gratitude. In such cases, it may often happen that, because of the history of relationship between the participants, the observance of the usual norms takes on additional nuances of meaning. Lakoff (1972a) cites a case in which the use of 'Please' in an operative form (Please close the window) is a signal of "strained relationship" between two participants who were previously close enough to use the imperative without "Please". Such cases require a special explanation in any theory of politeness despite the fact that the "strained relationship" meaning is obvious only to the participants, or to those who have knowledge of the history of the relationship. Such extremely subjective cases can hardly be central to the theory, though the theory of course should not rule them out altogether. We believe that, if required, special provisions can be made in the present theory to accomodate such cases, but we have made no attempt to do so in the present work.

If the observance of the usual norms of politeness and gratitude, given a history of coterminous boundaries signals 'a strained relationship', one may consciously and deliberately make use of the common expressions of politeness and gratitude to signal to the other that the special relationship of love and affection is at an end. Literary works are full of instances of this kind. Apte (1974) quotes an example from Yashpal's Hindi novel Jhuthaa

Sach where a male character, Puri is trying to send such signals to his wife, Kanak, through the use of such polite expressions. The story goes as follows:

"Puri's bed was laid out, Puri himself wrapped in a blanket, sat in an armchair, his chin in his hand, deep in thought.

Kanak said, "You're not working? If you're tired you should lie down. Should I get you some milk?"

"Thank you", Puri said without turning his head.

"Why? What's all this?" Kanak asked. "This morning too on the phone you showed a lot of formality."

"What formality is there in this? You do me a favor and so I should give you thanks," Puri said as if filled with gratitude.

"What is favor? Who doesn't work in her own house? Thanks are not given for that!"

Puri was silent."

Once again, the highly context-specific uses of the expressions of politeness and gratitude of this kind cannot be the central concern in a theory of the kind spelt out in this work. However, the theory should be able to account for them with suitable extentions. Though we do not include such cases in the present treatment, it is our claim that appropriate extensions of the theory can account for them.

However, we can think of such extensions only after the theory of the usual, or normal, use of the expressions of

politeness and gratitude has been established. Such a theory is concerned with the questions that we have set out earlier: Why is one polite? What are the motivations for the use of the expressions of politeness and gratitude? How is politeness different from gratitude? How do psychological and sociological variables affect the use of such expressions? It is to questions of this kind that we turn in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

TOWARDS A THEORY OF POLITENESS AND GRATITUDE

"They make a mouth at you and say thank you' most to death, but there ain't-a-going to be no core."

[Tom Sawyer Abroad, Ch. I]

CHAPTER II

TOWARDS A THEORY OF POLITENESS AND GRATITUDE

The theories of politeness that we have considered above basically attempt to answer questions such as the following: How does one become polite? What does it mean to be polite? and How is politeness expressed in language? These are important questions and certainly need to be answered. They, however, do not represent the full story about politeness. In particular they do not address the question 'Why is one polite?' except in a very general way. The suggested answers are given in terms of "good coordination", "social equilibrium", etc., all of which can be summarised as maintaining good social or interpersonal relations.

While 'good interpersonal relations' may be treated as a primitive requiring no further explanation, the theorist is not yet absolved of the duty of fuller explication of the concepts, principles, etc. involved in the notion of 'good interpersonal relationship' particularly in the light of the considerations that govern such a relationship. We are of the view that such fuller explication is not there in the works of the theorists we have considered since they have viewed politeness largely from a social angle, which is certainly an important and indispensable angle. However there is another angle, which is the individual's angle. After all it is the individual who is polite or impolite.

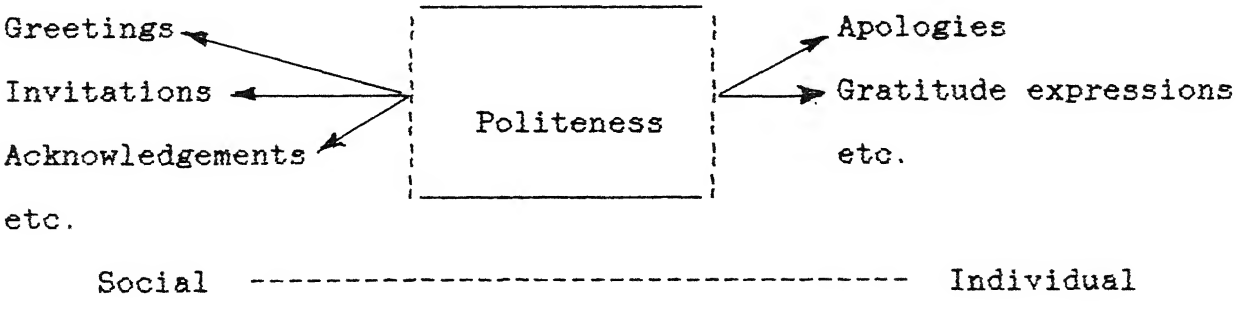
The social consideration of 'good interpersonal relationship must be translated by the individual into personal terms, since despite being a 'social animal', man's existence is generally governed by considerations which are personal or 'self-based' rather than social or 'other-based'. This position should not be construed as a praise for egoistic culture or a denial of altruistic motives in man, but simply as a statement of the relative roles of the individual vs. the social (or the biological vs. the cultural) forces in the determination of values which govern man's existence.

In the context of politeness this means that though on the surface a person is polite because he is interested in maintaining good interpersonal relations, equilibrium, coordination and the like, an approach to politeness which ends with stating just this has not really provided an explanation for politeness. One may ask in what specific way polite behaviour contributes to good interpersonal relations and why? What is the exact nature of the equilibrium and what are the elements involved in this equilibrium? How is politeness conceptually related to good coordination?

We shall argue that these questions can be answered if we look upon politeness through the angle of the individual. The choice of 'gratitude' as the object of our study emphasises the choice of this angle, since gratitude is in some sense even more individual than politeness. Politeness is more "social" in the sense that it involves norms of reciprocal behaviour whereas

expression of gratitude is unidirectional. In being polite one follows certain shared norms; in expressing gratitude too certain shared norms are presupposed, but the possibility of establishing one's own modalities is never fully ruled out. To the extent certain shared norms are also presupposed in the expression of gratitude, politeness is also presupposed, and it is a neccessary precondition for the expression of gratitude. To the extent expression of gratitude allows for individual freedom, it goes beyond politeness and allows for determining variables other than the ones involved in politeness.

In this framework, one can view politeness as a substratum of shared norms which underlies various kinds of manifest behaviour. Whether or not the manifest form of behaviour outgrows the substratum will depend on whether or not the form of behaviour is subjected to the demands of the individual expression. When greetings, invitations, acknowledgements, etc, are studied, shared norms are only extended towards the 'social' pole and no individual pressures are encountered, but when expression of gratitude is the object of study, they are extended towards the 'individual' pole and new variables enter our field of vision. Graphically,



Politeness defined

'A substratum of shared norms' is by no means a complete characterization of politeness. There are various kinds of shared norms, including those implicit in the uses of language which have nothing to do with politeness. The central characterization of politeness therefore must come from some other source.

We suggest that this characterization comes from two basic principles which govern man's existence in society. These principles we shall respectively call the **Principle of Individual Existence** (PIE) and the **Principle of Social Existence** (PSE). These principles can be stated as follows:

I. **Principle of Individual Existence**

This principle states that man's existence is governed and regulated by the boundaries of self. This principle is not to be interpreted as a crude assertion of the paramountcy of self-interest, but merely as a statement of the often unstated maxim governing most civilized communities that freedom of the self or the boundaries of individual existence are to be respected to the extent they do not conflict with the interests of others (i.e. of the society). Two kinds of counterexamples immediately come to mind: one, a society in which individual existence has been totally eliminated and an individual has no personal life. Even the most regimented communist societies do not go to this extent. However, if such a society does exist somewhere, the concept of 'politeness' will be irrelevant to it, for, as we shall see

below, the need for politeness arises only when some violation of the boundaries of someone's self is feared, or takes place. "I am a communist, not a gentleman", said a Minister in the communist government of West Bengal when accused by a reporter of ungentlemanly behaviour. The statement sums up our position on politeness excellently. If 'self' and 'society' are not marked apart by a boundary, there are no boundaries of self to respect, and consequently no politeness.

The other counterexample is even more difficult to imagine - a kind of existence in which there are only individuals and no society. Once again there are no boundaries of self, since the boundaries of each individual are unlimited. Consequently, the question of politeness does not arise.

Communities with different ideologies often debate where the boundaries between 'self' and 'society' should lie, but usually they do not deny that such boundaries exist. The boundaries of 'self' are well-demarcated, and once demarcated, well-respected. Each member of the community not only respects the boundaries of the other's self, but also expects the boundaries of his own self to be respected. Further, if it ever becomes neccessary for him to invade the boundaries of some one's self (where 'invasion' may mean anything from seeking to draw his attention to making a demand on his time or asking something of him), he needs to compensate the other for the violation of the PIE. The compensation he provides is politeness. In a different set of circumstances one may violate the PIE to one's own detriment,

e.g., when one holds a door open for another. In this situation, two instances of politeness are involved - first, the politeness involved in the self-detrimental act of holding the door open, and, second, the thanks usually uttered by the beneficiary. The second instance of politeness is explained by the PIE: the beneficiary compensates the benefactor for his willing violation of the PIE to his own detriment by using words of polite acknowledgement or thanks. The first instance of politeness requires another principle for its explanation - the Principle of Social Existence.

II. **Principle of Social Existence**

This principle acknowledges the limits of the PIE. Man acknowledges that in order to live in society there is a limit to which he can insist on the priority of his individual existence. He also acknowledges that in order to enjoy his own individual freedom, he must respect the individual freedom of others. This latter fact is not part of the PSE but only a confirmation of the PIE. To the extent respect for the individual freedom of others is motivated by the concern for one's own freedom, the motivating factor is the PIE. The PSE states that the individual recognizes the existence of a value higher than the individual - a social good with an autonomous existence. He also recognizes that this social good needs to be supported for its own sake and not neccessarily for the preservation of one's own freedom.

This principle is required for explaining those instances of polite behaviour which cannot be explained directly in terms of

compensation for another person's readiness to compromise the PIE. There are many instances where a person performs a polite action (e.g., holding the door open for another person, helping a person to carry his bag, etc.) without any perception of an advantage accruing to the existence of his self in a direct manner. He, however, recognises that certain acts must be performed to uphold certain social values, since their overall effect on the existence of the individual as well as the society is desirable. Individuals vary in the extent of recognition they give to such social values, and some indeed make the performance of the relevant actions dependent on their personal motives to such a degree that it undermines the PSE, but a general recognition of the PSE entails some compromise of the PIE. The price is willingly paid and the limits of the PIE are acknowledged.

The two principles enable us not only to characterise politeness but also to distinguish polite expressions from expressions of gratitude. Polite behaviour has two sources: the PIE and the PSE. One is polite either because one is compensating someone for his willing suspension of the PIE to the benefit of the former, or because he is following the PSE. Expressions of gratitude, on the other hand, follow only when someone willingly suspends the PIE. This correlates with our foregoing observation that while politeness is involved both in expressions of gratitude and purely social forms of behaviour, the former form of behaviour is located towards the 'individual'

end of the scale (in the sense that it allows greater scope to individual influences) while the latter form is located towards the 'social' end of the scale and allows comparatively little scope to individual variation.

The two principles that we have formulated operate in various ways, separately and interactively, to give rise to polite forms of behaviour. At least four major types can be identified, though there may be others too:

(1) **Idealization**: This occurs when the participants in a speech event try to uphold the PSE against the PIE. Consider the following exchange:

A: Where would you like to go for lunch?

B: Wherever you like.

In this exchange, A suspends the PIE and offers the choice of place to B following the PSE which involves assigning primacy to the other's interest. This is a form of behaviour which is considered a 'social grace', a desirable norm to follow for its own sake. B follows the same norm and gives the choice back to A. Both try to uphold the PSE against the PIE.

(2) **Appreciation**: Certain polite expressions like 'So kind of you', 'Thank you so much', etc. are often used to express appreciation that H assigned primacy to the PSE over the PIE to the benefit of S. We referred to such cases above as cases of compensation for suspending the PIE.

(3) **Rehabilitation**: Expressions like 'I'm sorry', 'Pardon me', 'I beg your pardon', etc. are often used when, knowingly or

otherwise, one has assigned primacy to the PIE when he should have assigned primacy to the PSE. For example, one may have tried to pick up a pencil at the same time as some one else, or spoken at the very moment when someone else also started an utterance, etc.. Politeness here consists in expressing regret that a violation of the PSE has taken place and S may be excused for it. S thus tries to rehabilitate himself in the eyes of H.

(4) **Reduction**: On certain occasions it becomes neccessary to assign primacy to the PIE over the PSE. S may be in some difficulty, or helpless in the circumstances. In such cases, S uses polite forms to tone down the effects of his violation of the PSE. The use of downtoners like 'Would you mind?', question forms, etc. are often used in these cases. The following utterance, "Would you mind posting this letter for me?" actually is a summary of a detailed statement like the following: "I know posting these letters is my personal business, and that I should not be asking you to do it for me, but I am still asking you, since at the present moment my interests are best served by not going to the post office myself." This case is the opposite of idealization since the PIE is being given primacy over the PSE and compensation is called for. The compensation is provided by politeness.

The two principles of Individual and Social Existence establish the framework within which gratitude and politeness will be studied in the present work. It should be noted that these principles entail a characterization of politeness which,

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unlike in some formulations, is a positive one. We do not characterize politeness as mere avoidance of conflict, a prohibition of being offensive, etc. but as an attempt to preserve certain social norms, and to provide compensation for someone who gives preference to the PSE over the PIE. Our notion of politeness, in fact, centres mainly around the PSE, as the four major forms of politeness behaviour described above would show. The various maxims, principles, strategies, rules, etc. of politeness suggested by the theorists we have considered can be subsumed under the four forms suggested by us: they are all explained by attempts to uphold the PSE against the PIE, express appreciation for doing so, express regrets for being unable to do so, and tone down the effects when unable to do so. The following explains how this is made possible:

Leech's theory of politeness is based on the notion of cost and benefit to H and S, but the notions of 'cost' and 'benefit' seem to be understood intuitively. In the present theory 'cost to S' and 'benefit to H' are defined as the willing suspension on the part of S of the PIE for the sake of upholding the PSE. 'Cost to H' and 'benefit to S' would, accordingly, be interpreted as upholding the PIE against the PSE. Other variations will range along the space defined by these end points. For example, in the case of Reduction, where 'benefit to S' takes precedence over 'benefit to H', the principle of maximization of benefit and minimization of cost to H is still operational in the use of downtoners. Thus an intuitively understood concept in Leech is

made explicit in terms of the two principles which we consider basic to the phenomenon of politeness.

The various 'rules' of politeness proposed by R. Lakoff operate at the descriptive level. If we wish to explain why these rules and not others make for polite behaviour, we must seek the considerations which motivate them. Stated in most general manner, the rules are motivated by a consideration for the other person's feelings. All the three rules proposed by Lakoff are thus explained as manifestations of the phenomenon of idealization, or an attempt on the part of S to uphold the PSE, or to assign primacy to it. Of course, on occasion, these rules may manifest other phenomena as well, e.g., the rather general rule 'Be Friendly' may operate in cases of Appreciation, Rehabilitation and Reduction too, but it should be obvious that the range of politeness behaviour covered by our four types is much more comprehensive than the range covered by the three rules of Lakoff, two of which (Keep Aloof and Give Options) are too specific and one (Be Friendly) too general to characterize an equivalent range with comparable precision.

Similarly, theories which identify politeness with characteristics of style need to answer a question regarding the motivation for the use of the 'style' with specific characteristics. Obviously, again the answer cannot be in terms of 'the desire to be polite' since that would mean going round in circles. Principles of the kind suggested by us would provide the kind of answer desired.

Though the Interpersonal Approach is more comprehensive than any of the other approaches, and considers not only linguistic (verbal) but also non-linguistic (vocal and kinesic) expressions of politeness, it, too, fails on the question of motivation. It uses the notion of 'supportiveness' to characterize politeness, defining it as avoiding interpersonal conflicts. Avoidance of interpersonal conflicts is not a natural, or universal, characteristic of human society and acquires value only when certain basic principles are honoured. Upholding of the PSE against the PIE is one of the basic principles, if not the basic principle which motivates man to accept avoidance of conflict as a norm of behaviour. However the present theory also implies that politeness is adequately characterized not as a negative virtue but as a positive one: a polite person does not simply refrain from acts which might lead to interpersonal conflict but takes positive steps of Idealization, Appreciation, Rehabilitation and Reduction so that the primacy of the PSE is clearly established.

III. Gratitude and Politeness

We have identified (as one source of politeness) the compensation S provides to H when H willingly suspends the PIE in favour of the PSE such that S is the beneficiary of his act. However, there are certain limits to which H will go to suspend the PIE and certain limits to which S can expect H to go to suspend the PIE in order to benefit S. In every case where H suspends his PIE to the benefit of S, S evaluates the degree of

'sacrifice' on the part of H and makes appropriate compensation.

The difference between gratitude and politeness can never be marked precisely for two reasons (1) it is a matter of degree, and (2) it is a matter of the subjective evaluation of the S. The point at which H's suspension of his PIE becomes entitled to an expression of gratitude rather than merely an expression of politeness, is decided by every person for himself and depends on a wide range of variables like the situation, the history of past relationship between the participants, the social and cultural customs, the nature of relationship between the participants, age, sex, etc. of the participants, and so on. But since these variables have always been operative, and since conventionalization is a strong tendency in social affairs, people do in general have a fairly strong intuitive appreciation of 'the clear cases of politeness' and 'the clear cases of gratitude', though a lot of haziness must occur at the boundaries. Following the established methodology in dealing with such phenomena in linguistics, one can attempt to account for the clear cases and arrive at a 'grammar' which would become the arbiter in the borderline cases. The 'grammar' in the present case cannot be a generative grammar, but a name given to a set of conditions which will be neccessary, even if not sufficient, to characterize 'gratitude' and distinguish it from 'politeness'. The methodology that we shall follow is the one that the SAT follows for characterizing speech acts like promising, naming, etc.. We shall use it for our purposes by

talking about 'expressions of gratitude' and 'expressions of politeness' instead of merely 'gratitude' and 'politeness'.

We may start by noticing that we consider expressions of gratitude to be a subset of the set of politeness expressions. This reflects the fact that expressions of gratitude are incompatible with non-polite behaviour. One cannot use an expression of gratitude and be impolite at the same time. At this level we are justified in treating all expressions of gratitude as expressions of politeness. However, since we wish to distinguish expressions of gratitude from those of politeness, our methodology must follow the following procedure: we must first identify a set of conditions which characterize expressions of politeness. These conditions must apply to all expressions of politeness. Next, we must postulate some additional conditions which apply to expressions of gratitude alone. Thus expressions of gratitude will satisfy all conditions applicable to expressions of politeness and will, in addition, satisfy some more conditions. In other words, the conditions that characterize politeness expressions are a subset of the conditions that characterize expressions of gratitude.

Like other speech acts, an expression of gratitude is equivalent to an action, viz. the expression of gratitude. Accordingly, expressions of gratitude fall under the category of EXPRESSIVE speech acts of Austin (1962). Each type of speech act is characterized by a set of 'Felicity Conditions' (Austin, 1962). These are conditions under which it would be appropriate

to interpret an utterance as belonging to that type of speech-act. Searle (1969) states a number of 'Felicity Conditions' for the speech act of 'promising'. A similar set of conditions can be stated for expressions of politeness and expressions of gratitude.

To consider expressions of politeness first. As stated above, these conditions will be fulfilled by all expressions of gratitude and in addition by certain other expressions which are expressions of politeness but not expressions of gratitude:

Conditions of Politeness

A. **The Linguistic Pre-condition:** It covers all genuine communication. Any genuine communication includes a number of factors pertaining to S and H. H should understand what S intends to communicate. Other factors include such conditions as the following: S and H both should know how to speak the language, both should be conscious of their speech, action and intention. They should not be using language parasitically, etc..

This condition is a basic one and its violation results in a situation which cannot be considered a genuine communication situation. Since expressions of politeness presuppose a communicative situation, a violation of this condition means that the basic pre-condition for some utterance to be considered an expression of politeness does not exist.

B. **The Social Condition:** In uttering the response, R, to H's action, A, S is following certain conventional social norms and is understood by H as doing so.

The effect of this condition is that both S and H share the same set of social norms or conventions and are following these norms or conventions during the communicative act. If the situation is such that each participant follows a different set of social norms, there may be some communication but the conditions neccessary for polite communication will not exist. For polite communication it is not enough that S should use an expression which is recognized as polite according to the norms of his society, it is also ne-cessary that H following the same norms, recognize it as a polite expression.

C. **The Interest Condition:** The A to which S responds is perceived by him as involving the promotion of the PSE. It may or may not also involve the suspension of the PIE on the part of H, or performer of the A.

If the action involves the suspension of the PIE on the part of H it will be perceived by S as intended to serve the interest either of S in particular or of the society in general. If it is perceived as serving his personal interest, it is liable to be evaluated further on the scale of gratitude - politeness and will elicit an expression of gratitude or politeness depending on S's evaluation. It may also be noted that what is important is his perception and

not whether the action actually ends up serving his interest. If, on the other hand, it is perceived as serving the PSE, it is unlikely to be evaluated further and will in all probability elicit an expression of politeness.

D. **The Sincerity Condition:** In uttering a polite expression it should be the intention of S to express positive feelings towards H.

In order for an expression to be polite it is essential that S actually intends to utter a polite expression. If S does not utter the expression sincerely, then it means he is either joking or trying to be ironical.

Any expression in the uttering of which the 'utterer' meets the conditions laid down above is an expression of politeness. Each of these conditions seems to be neccessary though the full set does not represent the set of sufficient conditions. There are various other types of polite expressions which are not covered by these conditions and which it is not our purpose to explore in this work. As stated earlier, we are interested in polite expressions mainly in the context of gratitude.

Specific Conditions of Gratitude

Any expression satisfying all the conditions above may be considered an expression of gratitude if, in addition, it meets the following conditions. We have noted earlier that when an expression crosses the boundary from politeness to gratitude is determined subjectively by S; however, a few norms may still be

captured. The following conditions attempt to capture these norms:

A. **The Affect Condition**: The performance of A should be such as to arouse in S an emotion affected by which he utters an expression of gratitude. If emotion is not aroused 'Thank you', 'Dhanyavaad', etc. will be taken as expressions showing polite behaviour because presence of emotion is basic to gratitude. S wishes H to recognize that in using a particular expression he (S) is not merely observing a social norm (though he is certainly doing that), but is also giving expression to a personally experienced emotion. To facilitate this recognition, S uses either new or creative expressions, (My own brother wouldn't have done so much for me!), or employs intensifiers (Thank you very much indeed) and intonational and kinesic devices to increase the effect of established and formulaic expressions. The only way in which the resort to such devices can be explained, which will differentiate expressions of gratitude from those made out of politeness, is to say that they are intended to convey a felt emotion. Despite the unsatisfactory nature of this explanation, it seems we must make do with it till something better is suggested. It needs to be pointed out that in talking about emotion we are not shifting the burden of explanation to an "emotion of gratitude" but making a distinction between expressions without an affective content (expressions of politeness) and expressions with an

affective content (expressions of gratitude).

B. **The Excess Condition**: The performance of A is 'beyond the call of H's duty' and for the performance of this A H has 'gone out of his way'.

Here we start with the postulate that every individual lives and works for himself. If he works for someone else he is 'going out of the way', for which he is thanked. Going out of the way means that it is 'beyond the call of duty'. S recognizes that the other person in suspending the PIE has gone beyond the point normally recognized as adequate for assigning primacy to the PSE, and the obligation thus created involves suspension by the other person of his PIE not only to promote the PSE but to actually promote the PIE of S. In other words, the other person 'has gone beyond the call of his duty', or 'gone out of his way' to benefit S.

C. **The Non-Expectancy Condition**: S does not expect H to perform A but H performs A in spite of S's non-expectation.

In a case of gratitude S wants the performance of A but he is neither sure that H will perform A nor can he compel him to perform A. H too, is aware that he cannot be compelled to perform A. Cases where S expects H to perform A will be those where the expressions used are those of politeness. In view of the Excess Condition, it is superfluous to state that S does not expect H to perform 'the action calling for the use of an expression of

gratitude in the normal course of things', since 'the normal course of things' is determined by the PIE and the four types of normal polite behaviour we have described. An action calling for gratitude may be evoked either by a request on the part of S, or by a more than average degree of senstivity to the needs and interests of others on the part of H. In either case the degree of compromise of his PIE on the part of the performer of action (= H) exceeds the degree of concern for the PSE demanded by the norms of politeness and is therefore not expected by the person obliged. It follows that if there are certain variables (e.g., the nature of relationship between the participants) which justify expectation on the part of the obliged person, an expression of gratitude may not neccessarily follow.

As in the case of conditions for polite expressions, so in the present case too, the conditions set out above seem to be neccessary for an expression of gratitude to occur, though it will be claiming too much to say that the set represents the set of sufficient conditions. Even if The Excess Condition, The Affect Condition and The Non-Expectancy Condition obtain, an expression of gratitude may not occur. This disclaimer only reflects the fact that we are dealing with human beings who are possessed of a will, and who may be susceptible to very many other influences not fully charted, and about whom predictions may not be made with the degree of certainty that attaches to non-animate,

even non-human objects. The conditions stated here will therefore be used in this study to make an approximation (and no more) to the behaviour of human beings when they are acting in socially governed situations involving the expression of gratitude and politeness.

As we have seen, gratitude is part of politeness and requires some additional conditions, besides the general conditions of politeness. These gratitude and politeness conditions not only help us in understanding the difference between the two concepts but also give us an insight into their nature.

In addition to the concepts occurring in the foregoing discussion we have used certain other concepts in this study (e.g., utterance, expression, context) which are understood in their usual senses and do not need explication. There is one concept however which requires a comment. This is the concept of 'formality'. We have not used this notion in the definition of gratitude or politeness, but it will be found to be relevant in the empirical part of this study. Formality has to do with the nature of relationship between the participants in an interaction situation. We have tried to capture this notion in a scale which we call Distance - from - the - Speaker scale in Ch. V Sec. C. Formality actually characterizes a condition which occurs at the 'lower' end of this scale. There is no absolute way of measuring the distance at which H is placed in relation to S

but one can perhaps make a rough estimate of the relative distance at which H, with a general characterization (e.g., brother, neighbour, friend, colleague, boss, stranger, etc.) is placed on the scale of distance from S in a given society. Even these relative estimates are subject to variation in some cases due to individual differences. We shall therefore not place too much reliance on any particular realization of the postulated scale, but will nevertheless argue that these difficulties do not justify a total rejection of the notions (e.g., that of formality) involved in this scale. Relative distance or closeness to S is an important parameter deciding the type or category of expression S will use in a given situation of interaction. It also often decides the extent to which a given condition operates in giving rise to an expression of gratitude or politeness. We may, for example find that given two identical situations S may use a politeness expression in one case and a gratitude expression in the other since the former case involves someone closer to him on the scale (e.g., a friend) while the latter involves someone more distant (e.g., the boss).

In order that the application of this scale should make sense we need to know the gratitude vs. formality values of the expressions used. Hence in the pilot study we have included a small experiment aimed at eliciting the informants' judgment about the degree of gratitude they

thought was expressed by the given expressions measured in broad terms of Hi, Mo and Lo. At the same time they were asked to judge, in similar terms, the degree of formality of the expressions (i.e. how likely was the use of the expressions when the distance between the participants was relatively high). This experiment produced results which made it possible for us to claim, however tentatively, that Formality was among the factors affecting the choice of expressions in the kinds of interaction situations studied in this work.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN OF THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

"When I'm not thanked at all, I'm thanked enough, I've done my duty, and I've done no more."

[Tom Thumb the Great, II. iii]

CHAPTER III

DESIGN OF THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

Having set out the theoretical presuppositions, we proceeded to design an empirical study which would confirm or disconfirm the principles, and the relationships between certain constructs that we had postulated. To be tested in the main were the following three postulates:

(1) The use of the expressions of gratitude and politeness is determined to a significant extent by the operation of the principles of Individual and Social Existence and the conditions set out in Ch.II.

(2) There may however be variations in the individual uses of the expressions which may be accounted for by certain socio-psychological variables like age, sex, level of education, etc.

(3) A significant variable affecting the use of experssions may be the nature of relationship between the participants in the interaction situation.

Being probably the first study of its kind, it was not quite clear how the study would be designed and conducted. The account given below describes how the study was finally conducted though, in retrospect, there seem to be many points at which it could have been done differently. In particular, the study does not seem to have taken in full account the parameters which were

relevant for the confirmation of the politeness - gratitude distinction which forms an important component of the theory set out in the previous chapter.

Our major decision was to construct a set of hypothetical situations incorporating as many as possible of the parameters and variables figuring in (1) - (3). The work of building these parameters and variables into the situations could not be done in a computable and quantifiable manner, so we would have to rely on interpretation and intuition particularly in relation to the parameters implied in (1). However, we took every care to see that the hypothesized situations were such as not to necessiate too much interpretation. For example, in most of the situations, it is fairly self-evident how much compromise of the PIE is involved on the part of H, to what extent his action promotes the PSE, etc.. In some cases, this may have resulted in making the hypothesized situation rather bland and oversimplified but that risk could not be avoided. Variables figuring in (2) and (3) were rather easy to incorporate, but even in their case the hypothesized situations, in retrospect, seem to lack the degree of variety that would have provided most definitive answers. The number of hypothetical situations that could be presented to the respondents without provoking a hostile reaction was also an important consideration.

The hypothesized situations were divided into three categories according to the degree of gratitude each situation seemed to call for. The 'degree of gratitude called for by each

situation' was determined by our interpretation of the way the principles and conditions set out in Ch. II seemed to apply to it, but once again it must be stated that our attempt always was to see that the classification in each case gave little reason for controversy. It would have been too cumbersome to discuss at length the reasons for the classification each situation received, and we therefore decided to dispense with the discussion. In any case since the principles and conditions set out in Ch.II are intended as explications of our intuitive judgments about gratitude and politeness, the classification of the situations, even if it is taken to be done intuitively, should accord with those principles and conditions.

The three degrees of gratitude demanded by the situations were labelled as Hi, Mo and Lo. This classification was, of course, for our purposes and was not made known to the respondents, who received the situations in a jumbled order.

Having constructed and classified the situations in conformity with our theoretical postulates, the next step was to elicit confirmation of our classification from the respondents. The best way of doing this was thought to be the following: Each respondent would be presented with a set of expressions (of gratitude/politeness) commonly used in Hindi, pre-categorized into three classes according to the degree of gratitude they are thought to express. The pre-categorization would be done, in a pilot study, by a small set of respondents picked out at random from the larger set participating in the study. The judgments of

these respondents in the pilot study would be relied on and made the basis of the analysis proffered in the main study. The respondents in the main study, would, of course, not be told of this classification. They would respond to the situations by picking out an expression (from the list of expressions provided to them) which they thought was appropriate to the situation. The responses of all the 100 respondents in the main study to all the 30 situations would then be correlated for "the degree of gratitude called for by the situation" (= Hi, Mo, Lo) and the 'degree of expression', (viz. HDE, MDE and LDE) used. If the respondents' responses tallied to a reasonable degree with our judgments implicit in the classification of the situations, our theoretical postulates, or their intuitive manifestations, would be deemed to be confirmed, if they did not, or if they showed serious discrepancies, we would have to look for alternative explanations.

I. The Pilot Study

The empirical part of our work accordingly consists of two studies: the pilot study and the main study. The pilot study had one main function: to select a set of expressions of gratitude/politeness and to classify them into three categories (HDEs, MDEs and LDEs) according to the degree of gratitude they were thought to express. The categorization arrived at in the pilot study would be used in the main study for testing our hypothesis. It was, however, thought appropriate to utilize the pilot study for another purpose, viz. to elicit the respondents'

intuitive judgements regarding the degree of 'formality' of the selected expressions. At the time the pilot study was conducted, it was not very clear whether the data thus collected would have any direct relevance to the main study, but since it would be problematic to collect such data again should the need be felt for it, it was considered advisable to collect the same as part of the pilot study. As it turned out, the finding of this sub-study seemed to have little relevance to the relationship we had postulated between expressions of gratitude on the one hand and polite expressions on the other. Formality, as understood in this use, is a property of particular expressions and is not to be confused with its other use (which also occurs in this work) in which it is a feature of the relationship between S and H and represents the nature of this relationship at one end of the 'Distance - from - the - Speaker scale (See Ch. V Sec. C). Respondents were asked to grade each expression on a 'scale of formality' as Hi, Mo or Lo on the basis of their intuitive understanding of 'formality'. From brief discussions with the respondents before they attempted the questionnaire, it appeared that they agreed on considering an expression to be 'formal' when it was used as a matter of 'form' i.e. there was really no occasion for expression of gratitude. In view of this understanding of 'formality', it did not come as a surprise that expressions considered 'high' on the gratitude scale were considered 'low' on the 'formality' scale and vice-versa. In other words the degree of 'formality' of an expression could be

predicted once its rank on the scale of 'gratitude' was known. This notion of 'formality' therefore turned out to be of little use to our study and was thereafter discarded.

Addressing ourselves to the main task of the pilot study, the first question was how to select the expressions. The expressions going to be studied were those used by the urban middle class Hindi speakers of different sexes, ages, religions and levels of education, etc.. The locale of the study was the city of Kanpur which is almost in the heart of the Hindi speaking area. The language commonly spoken is perhaps better characterized as Hirdu, or Hindi - Urdu, studied, for example, by Kelkar (1968), although the language is perhaps best characterized as a continuum with Sanskritized Hindi at one end and Persianized Urdu at the other. With the spread of the standardized educational system Hindi (or Hindi-Urdu) is becoming a language common to all people in this area, thus acquiring an 'unmarked' character, whereas Sanskritized Hindi on the one hand and Persianized Urdu bear a 'marked' character. The exploration of the marked character of these varieties is a complex task which we do not attempt to undertake in this work. For our purposes, it was considered sufficient to concentrate on the unmarked variety.

The first selection of expressions was made by listing all the expressions of gratitude and politeness that, from experience and observation, were known to the researcher to be used by the Hindi speaking urban middle class people of this area. Since the

researcher herself belongs to this class of people, this task was not very difficult. The list was later extended by consulting a number of other persons belonging to the class but coming from different backgrounds, where 'background' was taken to include age, level of education, sex, religion, work-status etc.. As a third step, the researcher went through a number of Hindi novels and stories, and listened for expressions of gratitude/politeness to radio programmes, etc..

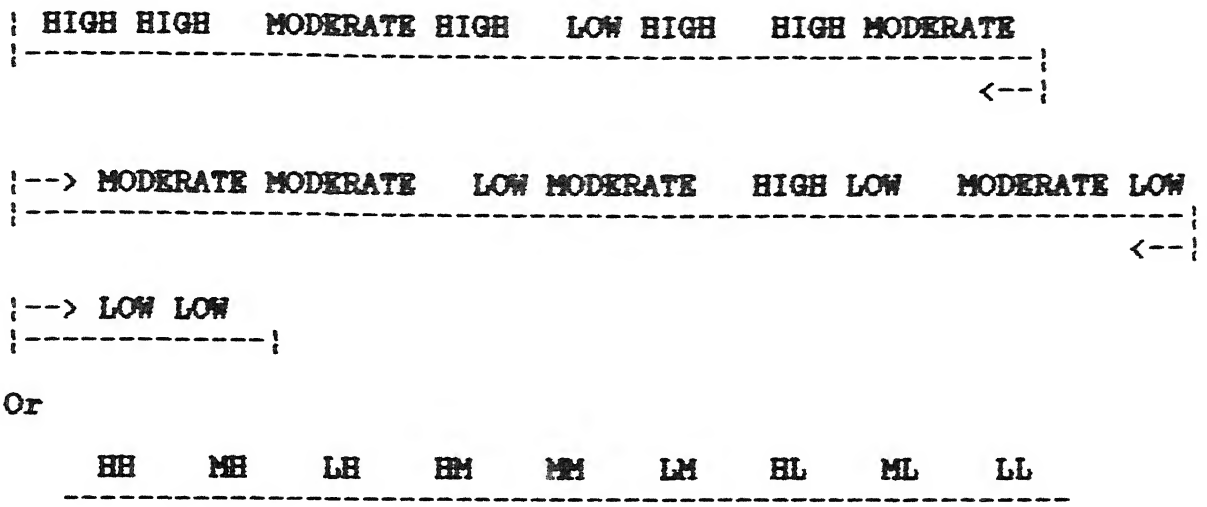
After this exercise was completed, we had a list of 26 expressions which are listed in Appendix 1 along with their rough English equivalents. This list was too large and it was clear to us from the very beginning that making a fine discrimination between them would be a formidable task for the respondents in the main study. In fact, some of them appeared to be so close together (e.g. 1, 8, 15) that retaining all of them did not seem justified. There were others which did not seem to be in common use though obviously persons with specific backgrounds did use them. However, we did not think it proper to eliminate any of them in advance and hoped that the pilot study would itself throw up some grounds for making a further selection.

Sample: Ten subjects were selected for the pilot study from Kanpur city. They were all educated middle class persons belonging to different walks of life. Five of them were males and five females. Religion-wise, five were Hindus and five, Muslims. The age range was 21 to 60 years.

Instruments: The subjects were each presented a questionnaire containing the 26 expressions listed in Appendix 1. They were asked to make a two-step characterization of the expressions in the following ways:

In the first step they were to classify the expressions into three categories according to the degree of gratitude they thought they expressed, i.e. if they thought that a particular expression was appropriate to a situation in which a high degree of obligation was involved, they would classify it as a HDE. Similarly others would be classified as MDEs and LDEs.

In the second step, they were to take up the expressions of each category at a time and repeat the same exercise with them. This involved further subcategorizing into three classes the expressions of each category Hi, Mo and Lo. In other words, for each expression they had placed in a particular category, the respondents would have to decide whether, relative to the other expressions they had placed in some category, this particular expression expressed a higher or a lower degree of gratitude measured again on a three-point scale. This meant that at the end of the second step we would really get a ranking of the expressions on a nine-point scale. The expressions on the top end of the scale would be marked HH (High High), those at the bottom end LL (Low Low). The full scale would look as follows:



Or

HH	MH	LH	HM	MM	LM	HL	ML	LL

The inclusion of the second step in the questionnaire needs an explanation. Given the size of the study, it would clearly have been unreasonable on our part to expect that we could work with a nine-point scale. The total number of expressions that we had started with (26) was also so small that a nine-point scale would have given us only 2 or 3 expressions at each point of the scale: in reality some points could well be empty. Further, as stated above, we were expecting the finally selected set of expressions to be even smaller, given the rather close similarity between some of them. However, we could obviously not have acted on this presupposition and therefore decided to include the second step just in case our expectation was not borne out and we did need a finer subcategorization than was provided by a three-point scale. We also argued that even if we did not finally require the nine-point scale and rejected it, its findings might prove of some supportive value at some point in the study.

Procedure: The questionnaire was presented to the same respondents twice with a ten-day gap in between. On both occasions, the questionnaires were filled in by the subjects in the presence of the researcher in order to totally rule out the unlikely possibility that some subject had retained notes of the first presentation. The obvious reason for the second presentation was to increase the reliability of the responses. Theoretically it was quite possible that a respondent who marked an expression HIGH on one occasion would mark it MODERATE or LOW on another. Sharp variations in the responses of a respondent on the two occasions would cast doubt on the evaluation offered. It was supposed that the variations would be greater in the nine-point classification than in the three-point classification: variations in the nine-point scale, so long as they were intracategorial, would not affect it much. (Intercategorial variations would of course be reflected in the three-point scale too). In view of this, the subjects were asked to make only a three-point classification on the second presentation.

We had, of course, to decide what action we would take in case there were sharp variations in the responses to any expression on the two occasions for same respondent. There were two choices: throw out the expression or throw out the respondent. Fortunately, we were not faced with this unpleasant choice as no sharp variations of the disturbing variety were encountered.

Analysis: When both presentations were completed, we had the following data with us:

1. A classification of all the expressions on a nine-point scale by 10 respondents. Each expression carried one of the labels (HH, MH, LH, etc.) from the scale described earlier for each respondent.
2. A classification of all the expressions on a three-point scale (second presentation). Each expression here carried the label Hi, Mo or Lo for each respondent.

   On the basis of this data we had to rank the expressions for the degree of gratitude they expressed and select a representative set for our main study. We proceeded as follows:

   Each of the points on the nine-point scale was given a numerical value. The highest point, HH, was given the value 9; the lowest point, LL, was given the value 1; the intermediate points received a value according to their position on the scale. All the points and their values were as under.

Points:	HH	MH	LH	HM	MM	LM	HL	ML	LL
Values:	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

Having given the points on the scale their weightages, the next requirement was to give relative weightage to the number of respondents who agreed to place a certain expression on a certain point on the scale. If, e.g., 6 respondents agreed to put a

particular expression on the point HH, then it should be placed higher on the gratitude scale than another expression which only 3 respondents agree to put on this point. This suggested that we could work out the 'gratitude score' of each expression by simply multiplying the value of the point on which a subset of respondents agreed to put a particular expression with the number of respondents in the subset, repeating this for the value of each of the points on the scale, and finally summing the products.

To take E-1 as an example. One respondent put the expression on the point MM (with the value 5), one respondent put it on the point HM (value = 6), four respondents agreed to put it on the point LH (value = 7), and four respondents agreed to put it on the point MH (value = 8). The 'gratitude score' of E-1 was accordingly calculated as follows: (5 x 1) + (6 x1) + (7 x 4) + (8 x 4) = 5 + 6 + 28 + 32 = 71. Thus 71 represented the gratitude score of E-1 on the nine-point scale (i.e. in the first presentation). Although this score is to be viewed only relatively to the scores of other expressions in the study, it was fairly high on the scale of gratitude, since the maximum possible score (with the highest value being 9 and the highest number of respondents being 10) was 90.

We repeated the same exercise for the three-point scale used in the second presentation. Here the maximum possible score was 30, since Hi, Mo and Lo were respectively given the values 3, 2,

and 1. Although the maximum possible scores for the two scales differed greatly (90 vs. 30) the minimum possible score for both scales was 10. This fact needs to be kept in mind when reading TABLE 3.1 which gives the gratitude scores for all the 26 expressions on both scales. Since the expressions are in a scrambled order the TABLE 3.1 is difficult to read. We are interested to find out whether the ranking of expressions on the two scales is convergent or not. To do this we simply rank the expressions in the order of rising gratitude scores on the first scale and see the effect on the column which gives their scores on the second scale. The rearranged table (3.2) follows TABLE 3.1.

TABLE 3.1

Gratitude Scores of Twenty-six Expressions Arranged Serially on the Two Scales

Expr.	Degree of Gratitude: First Scale	Degree of Gratitude: Second Scale
E-1	71	26
E-2	42	19
E-3	45	21
E-4	71	26
E-5	23	13
E-6	19	10
E-7	20	12

Table continued

Expr.	Degree of Gratitude: First Scale	Degree of Gratitude: Second Scale
E-8	70	25
E-9	31	15
E-10	36	17
E-11	70	25
E-12	50	22
E-13	53	23
E-14	22	11
E-15	73	27
E-16	44	20
E-17	41	18
E-18	70	25
E-19	70	25
E-20	63	24
E-21	33	16
E-22	74	28
E-23	86	30
E-24	53	23
E-25	70	25
E-26	23	13

NB: Expr.(s) = Expression (s)

TABLE 3.2

Gratitude Scores of Twenty-six Expressions Arranged in Increasing Order on the Two Scales

Serial number	Expr.	Degree of Gratitude: First Scale	Degree of Gratitude: Second Scale
1	E-6	19	10
2	E-14	22	11
3	E-7	20	12
4	E-5	23	13
5	E-26	23	13
6	E-9	31	15
7	E-21	33	16
8	E-10	36	17
9	E-17	41	18
10	E-2	42	19
11	E-16	44	20
12	E-3	45	21
13	E-12	50	22
14	E-13	53	23
15	E-24	53	23
16	E-20	63	24

Table continued

Serial number	Expr.	Degree of Gratitude: First Scale	Degree of Gratitude: Second Scale
17	E-8	70	25
18	E-11	70	25
19	E-18	70	25
20	E-19	70	25
21	E-25	70	25
22	E-1	71	26
23	E-4	71	26
24	E-15	73	27
25	E-22	74	28
26	E-23	86	30

It is immediately apparent that there are no sharp divergences in the second presentation: the ranking of expressions is identical on both scales. What is even more striking is that those expressions which had identical scores in the first presentation, i.e. E-5 and E-26; E-13 and E-24; E-8, E-11, E-18, E-19 and E-25; E-1 and E-4, also had identical scores in the second presentation.

In view of this perfect symmetry between the two scales it appeared we really did not need to depend on the nine-point scale for our purposes: the three-point scale would do as well. Accordingly we decided to rely on the three-point scale of the

second presentation and keep the results of the nine-point scale in reserve for occasions where they might prove to be of some supportive value.

The ranking of the expressions on these scales provided us with an instrument for fixing the relative degree of gratitude expressed by the expressions. Using some criteria for deciding the cut-off points, we could divide the expressions into Hi, Mo and Lo degree expressions. However, what the ranking did not provide us, to an adequate extent, was a criterion for restricting the set of expressions to a manageable number with out sacrificing variety. It did provide us with one criterion for selection: of the expressions with identical scores, we could select one and discard the others since they all seemed to express the same degree of gratitude and could perhaps be interchanged more or less freely. There could, of course, be other factors (e.g. socio-psychological ones) which determined the choice between them, but since the study of the role of socio-psychological factors was a secondary concern in this work, we would not be hampered too seriously by this consideration.

However, using this criterion we would be able to drop only seven expressions (one out of E-5 and E-26, one out of E-13 and E-24, four out of E-8, E-11, E-18, E-19 and E-25 and one out of E-1 and E-4). We decided to drop E-26, E-13, E-8, E-18, E-19, E-25 and E-4. The remaining expressions (19) were however still too many for a study of this size. They could still all be retained if we felt that we could not drop any without

endangering the main study. On the contrary, we felt that there were still some expressions (e.g. 3, 9, 10) which were of restricted usage and others which were not sufficiently distinguished (e.g. E-14 and E-26). Hence we wanted another criteria for a further pruning of the list.

We found the criteria in the 'agreement score' for each expression. Although the degree of agreement among respondents about the rank of an expression already has some weightage in the scale of gratitude, we could give it more importance, since the respondents' views were the determining factor in selecting the expressions. We judged that by fixing 60% agreement among the respondents as the criterion we could reduce the number of expressions to 11, which appeared to be a more reasonable number to work with. By 60% agreement we mean that only those expressions would be selected for the study regarding whose ranking (on the three-point scale), at least 6 (of the 10) respondents were in agreement. This criterion would be in addition to the criterion discussed above.

The following table (TABLE 3.3) gives the degree of agreement among respondents for all expressions. The number in the second column represents the maximum number of respondents who agree to put the particular expression in a particular category: Hi, Mo, Lo. Hi, Mo, and Lo represents the category in which the maximum number of respondents agree to put the expression.

TABLE 3.3

Agreement of Graditude Scores of Twenty-six Expressions Arranged Serially According to the Three-point Scale:

Exprs.	Degree of Agreement: second Scale
E-1	8Hi
E-2	7Mo
E-3	4Mo
E-4	8Hi
E-5	8Lo
E-6	10Lo
E-7	9Lo
E-8	6Hi
E-9	5Lo
E-10	5Mo
E-11	7Mo
E-12	5Mo
E-13	5Mo
E-14	9Lo
E-15	8Hi
E-16	4Mo
E-17	4Mo
E-18	5Mo/Hi
E-19	6Hi

Table continued

Exprs.	Degree of Agreement: Second Scale
E-20	5Hi
E-21	5L
E-22	8Hi
E-23	10Hi
E-24	7Mo
E-25	5Mo/Hi
E-26	7Lo

Applying the 60% criterion alone, we find that we must select the following expressions: E-1, E-2, E-4, E-5, E-6, E-7, E-8, E-11, E-14, E-15, E-19, E-22, E-23, E-24 and E-26. However, of these some, (viz. E-4, E-8, E-19 and E-26) had been already eliminated by the earlier criterion . This gave us the final list of the following expressions to be used in the main study. The list was a satisfactory one since it now did not have the expressions we thought were rather restricted in use and also retained only one out of each of the pairs we felt contained rather closely similar expressions: E-1, E-2, E-5, E-6, E-7, E-11, E-14, E-15, E-22, E-23, E-24.

These eleven expressions were retained for the main study. These expressions would be presented to 100 respondents alongwith a list of 30 hypothesized situations which had been constructed with the principles and conditions (discussed in Ch. II) in mind.

The respondents would be asked to select the expression which they thought was appropriate for each situation. The interest of the study was not in correlating each expression with each situation but the categories of expression (Hi, Mo, Lo) with the categories of situations. The categorization of the situations had been done into Hi, Mo and Lo according to the principles and conditions postulated by us, while the expressions had been categorized by respondent response. Our interest lay in finding out how the responses of the 100 respondents in terms of categories of expressions correlated with our categorization of the situations. A good correlation would be taken to imply confirmation of our categorization of the situations and accordingly of the principles and conditions that dictated the categorization. In other words, a good correlation would confirm our theory of gratitude while a bad correlation would not.

Some further precautions were neccessary to maintain the objectivity and reliability of the main study. These were as follows:

(1) There should be equal or almost equal number of expressions belonging to each category available to the respondents in the main study, since the number of situations prescribed to them would also be equally divided into three categories. The eleven expressions chosen by us fell into different categories as follows:

High	:	E-1, E-15, E-22, E-23
Moderate	:	E-2, E-11, E-24
Low	:	E-5, E-6, E-7, E-14

The distribution into categories appeared to be quite satisfactory and we therefore decided to retain the eleven expressions without any change.

(2) Neither the categorization of situations nor that of the expressions was to be made known to the respondents in the main study. For complete confidentiality, allowing no occasion even for chance revelation, we renumbered the selected expressions at random from Nos 1 to 11. The renumbering was as follows:

TABLE 3.4

Renumbering of the Expressions for the Main Study

Pilot study Number	Main study Number	Category of Expr.
E-7	E-1	Lo
E-24	E-2	Mo
E-5	E-3	Lo
E-15	E-4	Hi
E-2	E-5	Mo
E-23	E-6	Hi
E-6	E-7	Lo
E-11	E-8	Mo
E-14	E-9	Lo
E-22	E-10	Hi
E-1	E-11	Hi

EXPRESSIONS:

E-1. Thank you.

E-2. main aapke ehsaano ke bojh se dabaa/dabii huun

E-3. dhanyavaad

E-4. main aapke is ehsaan kaa badlaa is janam mein nahiin chukaa saktaa/saktii

E-5. main aapkaa/aapki ehsaanmand huun

E-6. marne ke baad bhii main aapke ehsaan kaa badlaa nahiin chukaa saktaa/saktii

E-7. shukriaa

E-8. mere paas aapkaa shukriaa adaa karne ke liye alphaaz/shabda nahiin hain

E-9. aapkii navaazish

E-10. aap agar aaj na hote to main kahiin kaa naa rehtaa/rehtii

E-11. main aapkaa yeh ehsaan jiivan bhar nahiin bhool saktaa/saktii

(3) It was felt that in the main study, presented with a certain situation, the respondent might feel that he would not use any expression (i.e. would choose to remain silent), or he might wish to use some other expression i.e. an expression not in our list. We felt at the beginning of the main study that it would be only fair to give him these options. Accordingly, two 'expressions' were added to the list taking the total number to 13. The two options which were added

were:

E-12 No Expression (Silence)

E-13 Any other (Specify)

When we added these two options we envisaged that the number of responses under these options would be too small to affect the study significantly. This expectation was borne out with respect to E-13 but not with respect to E-12. The number of 'silent' responses were too many to ignore. Later reflection suggested that the response 'No' would rate the situation (to which it occurred as a response) as belonging to a very low degree of gratitude, i.e. the response itself would rank with the category of expressions we had ranked as LDEs, though in some situations this assumption may not neccessarily be correct. However, if the assumption **was** correct our Lo category would have five expressions in place of four, making our distribution slightly unbalanced. This would be unfortunate, but this late discovery could not be rectified and we only hoped that it would not significantly affect the response profile of the main study. Since we had a forewarning, we would naturally be cautious when interpreting the response profile.

Gratitude and Formality

We stated above that we had decided to use the pilot study for another purpose, viz. to elicit the respondents' intuitive judgements regarding the degree of 'formality' of the selected expressions. We pointed out that the results of the study showed that the respondents rated as highly formal those expressions

which conveyed little gratitude and, conversely, rated as low in formality those expressions which expressed high gratitude. Because of the predictability involved in this relationship, it would not be of much use to us in the study. However, the result of the study may be of interest and are therefore presented below:

The ten respondents were asked to place each of the eleven finally selected expressions on a three-point scale of formality, the points being represented as Hi, Mo and Lo. They were asked to use their intuitive notion of formality. A brief discussion was held about the notion before the test was presented. The respondents' views were as recorded earlier. The following table records the score of each expression computed in the same way as the degree of gratitude of each expression was computed earlier (see TABLE 3.2 above).

Table overleaf

TABLE 3.5

Classification of the Eleven Expression in Terms of the Degree of Formality on the Three-point Scale

Exprs. Pilot Study No.	Degree of Formality
E-1	13
E-2	20
E-5	28
E-6	26
E-7	26
E-11	20
E-14	28
E-15	13
E-22	12
E-23	13
E-24	18

When we rearranged these scores in the order of rising degree of formality and placed them side by side with gratitude scores, the following picture emerged:

Table overleaf

TABLE 3.6

A Comparison of the Scores of the Degree of Formality with the Scores of the Degree of Gratitude

Exprs. Pilot Study no.	Degree of Formality	Degree of Gratitude
E-22	12	28
E-1	13	26
E-15	13	27
E-23	13	30
E-24	18	23
E-11	20	25
E-2	20	19
E-6	26	10
E-7	26	12
E-5	28	13
E-14	28	11

The rising trend in the formality scores is matched, almost point by point, by the falling trend of the gratitude scores. This result merely corroborated what the respondents had said informally during the discussion and needs no further comment.

II. The Main Study

In designing the main study, the major concern was construction of a set of hypothesized situations in which a

respondent, placing himself in the position of the recipient of the benefit, would be obliged to use an expression of gratitude or politeness to the benefactor. The beneficiary and the benefactor have been constantly identified as the speaker(S) and the hearer (H) respectively in this study, since it is the beneficiary who speaks the words that constitute the expression. We have postulated in Ch. II that the expression to be used in a situation will be determined, in the main, by how S judges the situation in terms of the two principles: the PIE and the PSE. From the operation of these principles plus some other conditions (e.g. conventions of language use), certain conditions were derived which characterise the situations of gratitude and politeness and distinguish them. In constructing the hypothesized situations, the effort had to be to build these conditions in, so that they (the situations) would truly represent the different parameters of our theory of gratitude and politeness.

There was a secondary concern too. We have constantly admitted that socio-psychological variables like age, sex, religion, level of education, etc. may also affect the choice of an expression in a situation of gratitude or politeness. However, we view their role as secondary: to the extent these variables affect the choice of the expressions they qualify, or limit, the determining role played by the conditions set out in Ch. II in much the same manner in which variables operative in performance affect and limit the realization of the rules of

competence in the case of language use. Variables operative in performance cannot provide the sole explanation of language; similarly the socio-psychological variables cannot fully explain the choice of the expressions. Every user of a language 'knows' what a gratitude situation is, how it is different from a politeness situation, what degree of gratitude is involved in a situation, etc., but this knowledge does not ensure that every speaker of a language will use the same expression in a given situation. This may be due to several reasons: first, it is quite possible that different persons may evaluate the degree of gratitude involved in a situation differently. This does not mean that the individuals are incapable of evaluating the degree of gratitude but only that there may be subjective considerations which make the evaluation different in different cases. Socio-psychological variables may also play a role in this. Secondly, different individuals may evaluate a given expression differently as to the degree of gratitude it expresses. Indeed, some individuals may well be totally unaware of a given expression. We have tried to restrict the scope of this possibility by selecting a small number of very commonly used expressions, but we cannot claim to have ruled out the possibility altogether. Thirdly, there may be attitudes, modes of thinking and behaviour, experimental limitations, etc. specific to particular groups of people (e.g. groups based on age, sex, religion, linguistic background, occupation, etc.) which may cause differences in evaluation. The third of these reasons is the most potent of all

since it may not only make a difference to the evaluation of a situation, but may lead to variable responses even if the evaluation is not different. Such cases are the hardest to deal with in the framework of our empirical study since the study places total reliance on the respondents' responses. Our analysis will, first and foremost, attempt an explanation of these responses in terms of the postulated theory; next, it will try to seek explanations in the role of socio-psychological variables, and third, will look to the 'relationship' variable (i.e. nature of relationship between S and H), but if there are still some cases left unexplained, it will not attempt any serious exploration of the respondents' psyche. That task is beyond the boundaries of this study.

Hypothesized Situations

The major task of this study was the construction of hypothesized situations. We decided to have a total of 30 situations, 10 in each category of Hi, Mo and Lo degrees of gratitude. As stated earlier, these situations were constructed keeping in mind the parameters of the theory set out in Ch. II. Another consideration was to allow for sufficient variety to accomodate the socio-psychological variables, and the 'relationship' variable. A situation-by-situation description of how the parameters and variables were enshrined in the situations would be a very tedious undertaking (and perhaps unneccessary), but a few general remarks are in order. The 30 situations are all listed in Appendix II.

The majority of situations in our study have to do with gratitude: only a few are such as may be considered appropriate for purely 'polite' expressions i.e. require an expression as a matter of social norms of behaviour. Such situations (S-5, S-7, S-10, S-20, S-22) are classified by us as belonging to the lower end of the gratitude-politeness scale. The situations do not involve suspension of the PIE by H but are typical of the kind in which expressions of politeness are used for promoting social goals. These situations satisfy the politeness conditions but do not satisfy the gratitude condition and accordingly, we classify them as LDSs and expect them to elicit LDEs.

The category Low is of course a wide one and includes not only those situations which are expected to elicit polite expressions but perhaps also a few which satisfy certain conditions of gratitude. Such situations are S-2, S-13, S-17, S-24, S-28. These situations satisfy the politeness conditions but in addition also satisfy two of the gratitude conditions: The Excess Condition and The Non-expectancy Condition. They involve a voluntary suspension of the PIE and promote the PSE. However the suspension of the PIE for the benefit of S does not in our view go to the extent of satisfying The Affect Condition. We therefore expect these also to elicit LDEs, which in some cases may be identical to those elicited by the previous set of situations. We accordingly classify them as LDSs.

The situations which we have classified as MDSs and HDSs and are all those which naturally satisfy all politeness conditions

as well as at least the two above mentioned conditions of gratitude. Whether or not they also satisfy the third gratitude condition - The Affect Condition - is often difficult to judge for an observer but a participant is perhaps rarely in doubt. The observer can only make a empathetic estimate of The Affect Condition and that is what we have relied on. It is, however, not sufficient to make a guess about the presence or absence of a gratitude condition, since these conditions also involve a quantitative aspect. The extent to which, for example, H goes out of his way to help S determines the quantity of 'excess' involved; the extent to which S expects, or does not expect (depending, among other things, on the history of their relationship) H to perform the action in question determines the quantity of 'non-expectancy'; similarly, the extent to which one's emotions are aroused, which depends not only on the degree of one's need, the degree of satisfaction received, the degree of 'excess' involved, etc. but also on the individually variable threshold of emotion arousal), determines the quantity of the 'affect'. A precise computation of these factors being clearly an impossibility, what we offer is an intuitive, or empathetic, estimate. Situations 3, 12, 23, 26 do not seem to us to involve The Affect Condition, though they clearly satisfy The Excess and The Non-Expectancy Condition to some degree or the other. Situations 4, 8, 15, 18, 21 and 29 on the other hand, do seem to invoke The Affect Condition to some degree in addition to the other two conditions. If asked for an explanation for these

feelings, we can only point to the fact that the particular configuration of the nature of relationship between S and H, the degree of 'excess' and 'non-expectancy' involved and the 'benefit' accruing to S is such that, placed in the situations, one would feel 'moved'. This estimate is naturally subject to the 'individual variability' of The Affect Condition mentioned above.

When we consider the HDSs, however, we cannot be left in much doubt about The Affect Condition. It appears to us that all 1Ø of them meet this condition though to at least two different degrees. We base this difference on the kind of adverse consequences involved from which the benefactor's (H's) action saves the beneficiary (S). In one set of cases, the "adverse consequences" involve danger to life and limb and the benefactor's action saves the beneficiary from death or permanent injury. Cases of this type are S-6, S-9, S-14, S-27, S-30. In the other set, the adverse consequences are loss of money and property, or loss of a significant opportunity for advancing one's career. Not all situations in the second set may be comprehensively characterized negatively (e.g. in S-4 and S-15 the 'favour' results in the beneficiary getting a (better) job, but the gain can be described as 'monetary'). This difference is, however, not crucial for the purposes of the study as all 10 situations have been put in the same category from the viewpoint of the type of expression they are likely to elicit. This has to be done since the estimated degree of gratitude involved in the

situation is not the only variable to be considered, though it may be the major one. Such other variables as the nature of relationship between the benefactor and beneficiary, the socio-psychological variables relevant to the characterization of the beneficiary, etc. also play a role and affect the choice of the expression. In view of the uncertain influences of these variables a finer classification of the situations or expressions would have been a risky proposition. We have only made a tentative move in this direction by suggesting a broad subcategorisation of HDSs into High and Low similar to the one attempted above for LDSs and MDSs. We test this subcategorization against the analysis of respondent responses in Ch. IV.

It is considerations of the above sort, based on the principles and conditions described in Ch. II, that have guided our classification of the situations in the three categories: Hi, Mo and Lo. This classification is given in Appendis III but is reproduced here for convenience:

HIGH	MODERATE	LOW
S-1	S-3	S-2
S-6	S-4	S-5
S-9	S-8	S-7
S-11	S-12	S-10
S-14	S-15	S-13
S-16	S-18	S-17

Classification continued

HIGH	MODERATE	LOW
S-19	S-21	S-20
S-25	S-23	S-22
S-27	S-26	S-24
S-30	S-29	S-28

Research Sample

Having constructed the situations, we proceeded to select a sample of the population to be studied. The research site was the city of Kanpur. The sample had already been restricted to people belonging to the middle class. The other parameters to be honoured were Sex, Age, Religion, Mother tongue, Level of Education, Medium of Education at School, Medium of Education at College and Work-status. We had to ensure that the sample included representation from different groups exemplifying variability on these parameters in the population.

Before describing the sample, we should like to include some remarks justifying the choice of these variables:

Sex: There exists some work which shows that sex is an important factor that governs the use of language. For instance Robin Lakoff (1975), argues that sex determines the use of polite expressions in American English. Therefore we felt that it may be useful to see whether in the Indian context too sex plays a similar role in the use of language for expressing gratitude/politeness.

Age: We decided to use the following age grouping for the respondents:

21 to 30 years

31 to 40 years

41 to 50 years

51 to 60 years

Our rationale for including **AGE** as a variable is that the young people (Age group 21 to 30) often show values which are different from those in the advanced groups. It is these values and the way they affected the choice among expressions that would be our main focus in the study of this variable, since the design of our study did not allow us to explore if the youth had a different set of expressions altogether. We expected to find some differences at least between the youngest and the oldest group if not between each of them.

Religion: The population of Hindi speaking individuals include both Hindus and Muslims. As mentioned earlier, the language under study is sometimes described as Hindi-Urdu, often conceived as a continuum. At one end are the users of Sanskritized Hindi, at the other end are the users of Persianized Urdu. Our choice of expressions did not cover the entire range but mostly concentrated at the middle portion of this range. However, one could still identify expressions with an 'Urdu' colour and others with a 'Hindi' colour. We should like to know whether this 'colour' was indeed perceived. Further, we were also interested to find out if the belief-systems of different religions also

played a role in the choice of expressions, e.g., whether it mattered that an expression made reference to 'this life' (in contrast to 'the life before' or 'the next life'. See E-4, New Number), since Muslims did not believe in the transmigration of souls.

Mother Tongue: The two most common mother tongues in the region, if they can be so described, are Hindi and Urdu. We doubt this, but people in the area do still make the distinction. To the extent the distinction is made, it coincides with religion - Muslims opting for Urdu, Hindus for Hindi. If this proved to be correct, the two variables 'Religion' and 'Mother Tongue' would give identical results and we would then be at liberty to eliminate one of them.

Educational Qualification: Since politeness is an aspect of formal behaviour and since formal behaviour is sometimes associated with education, there was an a priori case for regarding Educational Qualification as variable affecting the choice of expression. The effect of the variable will be explicit if the respondents' choice of expressions varies with respect to their educational qualification. Thus we have respondents with varying educational qualifications as indicated in TABLE 3.7.

Medium of Education at School
Medium of Education at College

From this one would get some idea regarding the kind of exposure to a language a subject has had in formal education. This is sometimes believed to

determine the kind of polite expressions one uses. An obvious instance of this would be if those who have had exposure to English used 'Thank you' more than those who haven't. However, we expected this variable to have a limited impact as most middle class persons could be expected to have been to schools where English was used to a smaller or greater extent. We also expected some differential preferences in the case of respondents who declared their medium of education as Urdu or Hindi.

Work-Status: This variable represented three types of respondents, viz. students, housewives and employed. Students and employed include both male and female respondents. All the three types of respondents have different spheres of social interaction.

Students, who mostly belong to the age group 21 to 30 years, are influenced by the school/college they are in, and their interaction is mostly with their friends and teachers.

Housewives were chosen because their sphere of interaction is thought to be relatively limited as compared to the students and the employed. It is generally seen that their interaction is either with the members of their family or with neighbours.

As for the employed, their sphere of interaction is relatively large in comparison with that of the housewives. As compared to the students, they generally belong to a higher age group. Since they hold an office, they have to maintain a harmonious relationship with persons who may either be their superiors, subordinates or equals. They are expected to both

give and take orders and follow a specific code of action.

The difference in the range and sphere of interaction of these different categories of people may be expected to have some effect on the way they perceived the situations and react to them. It is also possible that the effect is very limited and is completely outweighed by personality factors. The third possibility that the effect was non-existent and only the central variables enshrined in our theory were instrumental in determining the choice also could not be ruled out. Our study is certainly not designed to discriminate finely between all the three possiblities and we expected the study to provide only some broad indications, if at all.

Keeping these variables in mind we selected a sample of 100 respondents. The following table gives the break up of the sample in terms of the categories involved in each variable. It was not possible to have an equal distribution of respondents in all categories even if it were desirable. But, except in those cases where the numbers are very small, this was not expected to affect the outcome significantly. In those cases where the numbers are very small, further studies would be required to confirm the results obtained.

Table overleaf

TABLE 3.7

Percentage Distribution of Respondents on Background Characteristics

		Percentage of Respondents
A.	Sex	
	Males	58
	Females	42
B.	Age (in years)	
	21 to 30	46
	31 to 40	27
	41 to 50	10
	51 to 60	17
C.	Religion	
	Hindu	50
	Muslim	50
D.	Mother Tongue	
	Hindi	50
	Urdu	50

E.	Educational Qualification	Percentage of Respondents
	High School	02
	Intermediate	08
	Bachelors	20
	Masters	47
	Professional	23
F.	Medium of Education at School	
	Hindi	76
	English	19
	Other	05
G.	Medium of Education at College	
	Hindi	52
	English	41
	Other	07
H.	Work-Status	
	Student	18
	Housewife	16
	Employed	66

The Questionnaire: The respondents were given a questionnaire to fill in (Appendix IV). The questionnaire was divided into two parts. The first part asked for the biographical details of the respondents which would help us classify them into different

categories relevant to each of the variables listed in **TABLE 3.7**. The second part contained the list of 11 expressions (given along with TABLE 3.4 above) numbered E-1 to E-11 as above side by side with the 30 situations described in Appendix II. Neither for the expressions nor for the situations were the respondents given any indication of the classification into Hi, Mo and Lo that we have made above. The respondents were instructed to read each situation carefully and write in the space provided after each described situation the number of the expression from the list he/she would use if he/she were to find himself/herself in that situation in real life. If there was any situation in which the respondent felt he/she would not say anything, then he/she was instructed to write E-12 (i.e. No). Similarly, if there was any situation in which he/she thought he/she would say something else (not in our list), then he/she was instructed to write E-13, (i.e. Ot), in which case he/she was also required to specify the expression he/she would like to use.

On an average each respondent took about 30 minutes to fill the questionnaire.

The study was conducted over a period of 30 days during 1988 in the city of Kanpur. The results were collected and submitted to statistical analysis using the SPSS manual (Nie, et al. 1975). **Statistical Analysis**: We expected the analysis to give us the number/percentage (since N = 100) of respondents who used Lo, Mo, Hi, No and Ot expressions in each of the 30 situations. For example, by our criteria S-13 was a LDS and we were interested to

know whether the respondents would mostly use LDE in this situation or not. If they did, it would confirm our assignment of the situation to a category demanding a LDE, thus confirming the considerations which were used by us to characterize the situation as a situation involving a low degree of gratitude.

In order to see if we could claim that a situation of a certain kind would demand an expression of the corresponding kind (i.e. whether a LDS elicited a LDE, a HDS elicited a HDE etc.) and, if so, to what extent, we carried out Percentage Analysis. This would, plainly speaking, give us details regarding the presence or absence of relationships between situations and expression types. If any such relationship was present, it would also give us an idea of the strength of the relationship between the two variables.

In order to study the relationship between the socio-psychological variables on the choice of expressions of gratitude and politeness and the hypothetical social situations, Pearson Product Moment Coefficient of Correlation was computed. Taking for example the variable Sex, we came to know its relationship with the 30 situations. Similarly, by computing the correlation between the variable Age and the situations, we came to know the relationship between this variable and the 30 situations. We also attempted, for each variable, Percentage Analysis of respondents who used each category (viz. Lo, Mo, Hi, No and Ot) of expression in each situation in general.

This meant that we would ultimately be in a position to say not only whether the variables affected the use of the expressions or not but also which were the situations which were significantly affected by the variables. The full results and their interpretations are given in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

"We will hang you, never fear, most politely, most politely."

[Princess Ida, I]

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

This chapter is divided into three sections. In Section A, the results show the frequency of occurrence of the various categories of expressions (LDEs, MDEs, HDEs, No and Ot) in each of the three degrees of situations (viz. LDSs, MDSs and HDSs). To be more exact, it gives the percentage of respondents who use HDE in HDS, MDE in MDS and LDE in LDS. It also gives the percentage of respondents whose use of the expressions diverges from the expected estimate of the situations as belonging to one of the three categories: HDS, MDS and LDS. For example it shows the proportion of respondents who use a low degree or a MDE for what we have classified as a HDS. Since we should normally expect the respondents' use of expressions to reflect our classification, the divergence, whenever it occurs, stands in need of some explanation. We have attempted to provide such explanations, some general, some specific to individual situations, as and when the divergences are noticed.

Section B describes the results and attempts some explanations regarding the effect of the variables in the use of expressions of politeness and gratitude in each of the thirty situations. As already stated (Ch. III), this analysis is expected to provide us with an account of those variables which **significantly** affect the situations. There will inevitably be some variables which do not affect the situations significantly.

Since such cases are not of interest to us they have not been presented in the following account. The tables in this section present a statistical profile of the respondents' use of the various categories of expressions (Lo, Mo, Hi, No and Ot) in absolute terms. The respondents, however, are classified in terms of the variable in question. The data included are the chi-square values of each significantly affected situation and the percentage of respondents who use the various categories of expressions in each significantly affected situation.

Section C presents the results showing the effect of the relationship between S and H. The effect of this relationship is seen in terms of various factors, e.g. social status, familiarity, kinship, intimacy, duty, expectation, etc.. For such an analysis it becomes neccessary to give the number of respondents who use Lo, Mo, Hi, No and Ot expressions in those situations which are of relevance for the purpose at hand.

Section A

This section presents the results in the form of percentages of respondents who use Lo, Mo, Hi, No and Ot expressions in each of the thirty situations. These thirty situations were categorized in terms of Lo, Mo and Hi degrees of gratitude they were believed to demand.

Hypothesis 1: It may be recalled that for the purposes of classifying both the situations and the expressions, we used a three-point scale of gratitude with Hi, Mo and Lo as its three points. Keeping in mind the conditions of gratitude explicated

in Ch. II, the situations were divided into HDSs, MDSs and LDSs. Similarly, the expressions collected following the pilot study were also classified into HDEs, MDEs and LDEs depending on the informants' judgment regarding the degree of gratitude (Hi, Mo and Lo) that they expressed. In correlating the expressions with the situations in the main study, the subjects were asked to give the expression that they would use in a given situation. We did not expect a perfect correlation to emerge, i.e. we did not expect every respondent to use a HDE in a HDS, a MDE in a MDS, and so on. In fact, there were two possibilities which fell outside the three-point scale altogether: a respondent may say nothing (No) in a situation or he may use some expression (Ot) which did not appear in our list at all. While we did not propose to deal with Ot in this work, we did decide to interpret, admittedly at some risk, No as the lowest point of the scale of gratitude expressions. In other words, we presumed that a person chose to keep silent in a particular situation of gratitude when he felt that the situation was too "weak" to need an expression of gratitude at all: even the lowest LDE was not felt neccessary. This interpretation could run some risk of being wrong in a complex gratitude situation (e.g. one may be too overwhelmed by gratitude to say anything), but we reasoned that in a 'clinical' or 'laboratory' situation like ours in which respondents responded after cool deliberation to simplified situations such possibilities could be ruled out.

In view of this, the scale of gratitude expressions can now

be shown to be the following:

HDE -- MDE -- LDE -- NO

High Gratitude **Low Gratitude**

Since we did not expect a perfect correlation between our two scales (of gratitude expressions and situations), we would not be surprised if a respondent responded to, say, a HDS with a MDE, or a MDS with a LDE and the like. However, at the same time too much divergence would make our scales very suspect. In view of this, it was reasoned that variation of one point to the left or right on the scale would be tolerable and would require explanation only if it occurred in a large number of cases, whereas a deviation of two points or more would always require some explanation except perhaps in those cases where the numbers involved were very small. Accordingly, if a LDS elicited a No or a MDE it would be tolerable, but if it elicited a HDE (except in stray cases), some explanation would be required.

In other words, we hypothesized that if there was an overlap, it would be as follows:

A. LDEs would overlap with Nos and MDEs.

B. MDEs would overlap with LDEs and HDEs.

C. HDEs would overlap with MDEs.

A. LDEs overlap with Nos and MDEs

TABLE 4.1

Percentage Distribution of Respondents on the Use of Expressions in LDSs.

Sl.No.	Situations	Hi	Mo	Lo	No	Ot
1	S-2	01	12	87	00	00
2	S-5	00	08	89	02	01
3	S-7	00	03	54	43	00
4	S-10	00	00	64	35	01
5	S-13	01	08	89	02	00
6	S-17	01	04	91	01	03
7	S-20	01	02	95	02	00
8	S-22	00	03	91	05	01
9	S-24	02	12	86	00	00
10	S-28	03	19	58	15	05

The above hypothesis is borne out by the following facts:

1. Very few respondents use a HDE in a LDS

The maximum percentage of respondents who use HDE in LDS (i.e. S-28) is three which is negligible. These respondents when asked why they used a HDE in this situation said that getting the reservation done for one's personal (not official) visit was not the 'work' of the office peon. When he gets the same done and refuses to accept any service charges, he has obliged one. However, this does not explain

why the respondents consider the peon's action to be deserving of a HDE. Most respondents (58%) feel that the obligation is a minor one, a smaller number (19%) consider it to be a moderate one while 15% do not think it requires any articulation of gratitude. This reflects the subjective variation in the degree of sensitivity, or perhaps the kind of relationship one has with one's subordinates. However, the fact that in the view of 92% (58 + 19 + 15) respondents it belongs to the moderate or lower end of the scale seems to confirm our classification of the situation as a low degree one and indirectly lends support to the criteria we have used for this classification.

The very low percentage of HDEs in the other situations (1% or 2%) further bears out this conclusion.

2. LDEs overlap with MDEs

The following LDSs elicit a very high percentage of LDEs confirming our classification of the situation as LDSs. The small overlap they show with MDEs is within tolerable limits. The one HDE in S-2 and the two in S-24 may be baffling but this is not justification enough for revising our classificatory criteria. For example,

LDS	HDE	MDE	LDE
S-2	1	12	87
S-24	2	12	86

3. LDEs overlap with Nos

TABLE 4.1 also shows overlap between LDEs and Nos in three cases. In S-7 and S-10 the overlap is considerable: 43 Nos against 54 LDEs in the case of the former, and 35 Nos against 64 LDEs in the case of the latter. In both cases the number of LDEs is rather surprising as, at least in the Indian society, thanking the taxi-driver, or the servant, is hardly expected; most people would simply say nothing.

The third case, S-28, has already been discussed.

It is possible to interpret the overlaps we have discussed in another, rather mechanical way. Suppose we were to further divide the LDSs into two subcategories - High and Low, as follows: if in a particular situation the number of MDEs was greater than the number of Nos we would put it in the High category, looking to the fact that a greater number of respondents evaluate it as belonging to the Mo category than as belonging to the No (Lower than Low) category. Similarly, if the number of No expressions was greater than the number of MDEs we would put it in the Low category. This would be a very rough and ready kind of measure, and would leave out those cases where the number of MDEs and No expressions was equal, but would still provide us with some additional confirmation for the subcategorization of situations that we resorted to in Ch. III when discussing the construction of hypothesized situations. We had mentioned there that the three-way

categorization of the situations was rather broad and each category could consist of further subcategories if we took into account the 'quantitative' aspects of our conditions. We had proposed a subcategorization solely on the basis of the way the conditions were thought to apply to the situations. It would, in the very least, be interesting to see whether the 'rough-and-ready' measure we have devised would provide any confirmation of this subcategorization of situations. The number of situations where the 'either-side-overlap' is equal will be very small (in fact, there is only one, viz. S-20) and could be ignored.

The subcategorization of LDSs suggested in Ch. III on theoretical grounds was as follows:

LDSs--| HIGH: S-2, S-13, S-17, S-24, S-28
LDSs--| LOW : S-5, S-7, S-10, S-20, S-22

The 'rough-and-ready' measure of analysis we have suggested above gives the following results:

LDSs--| HIGH: S-2, S-5, S-13, S-17, S-24, S-28
LDSs--| LOW : S-7, S-10, S-22

After S-20, which has the same number of MDEs and No expressions is disregarded, we get only a single discrepant case, viz. S-5, which is classified as Low on theoretical considerations but is rated as High by the analytical measure. In classifying S-5 as Low on theoretical grounds,

we were guided by the fact that while it satisfied all the politeness conditions, it did not satisfy any of the gratitude conditions (Affect, Excess and Non-Expectancy). In handing out small change for a hundred rupees, the bank cashier is only performing his duty; he is not going out of his way, we expect him to do the duty, and we are certainly not 'moved' by it. But it appears we could be wrong. It emerged in a discussion that some time ago the country was passing through a serious shortage of coins so that getting small change even for a rupee was difficult. A bank favouring one at such a time with small change for a hundred rupees could indeed be deserving of an expression of at least the moderate degree of gratitude. It is quite possible that the study coincided with the period of shortage and at least some respondents were influenced by this feature of the 'situational context'.

With the discrepant situation thus explained, it is indeed gratifying to note that even a rough-and-ready measure like the one adopted above confirms the theoretical categorization of situations attempted in Ch. III.

B. MDEs overlap with LDEs and HDEs

TABLE 4.2 gives us the percentage of LDEs, MDEs and HDEs used by respondents in response to what we had classified as MDSs, or situations which, by our criteria, fell into the moderate degree of gratitude i.e. in our view required the use of MDEs.

TABLE 4.2

Percentage Distribution of Respondents on the Use of Expressions in MDSs.

Sl.No.	Situations	Hi	Mo	Lo	No	Ot
1	S-3	20	54	25	00	01
2	S-4	43	51	06	00	00
3	S-8	39	50	10	00	01
4	S-12	02	55	40	01	02
5	S-15	44	47	08	00	01
6	S-18	41	51	06	00	02
7	S-21	24	53	21	00	02
8	S-23	17	61	20	00	02
9	S-26	36	54	09	00	01
10	S-29	43	49	06	01	01

This table also seems to bear out our hypothesis. Three kinds of overlap are noticeable: between MDE and LDE, between MDE and HDE and between MDE and both LDE and HDE. The first type of overlap is noticeable in S-12, which elicited 40 LDEs against 55 MDEs. S-12 could have been classified as a LDS for the following reason: the two participants involved, S and H, are colleagues in an office. S wants to leave the office early for some personal work and is in a hurry to finish his work. H offers to help him in

finishing the work. In an office setting, situations of this kind occur quite commonly and usually the colleagues help each other out in a reciprocal manner. Hence the situation may be considered to belong to the low category. Our reason for classifying it as a MDS was that H in this case happened to be a woman. In a way, we were testing if this circumstance made any difference to the type of expression elicited. The results seemed to show that though it does make a difference, the difference is not so pronounced. Women are apparently becoming acceptable as equal partners at work although the attitude of deference to women at work (for whatever reasons) is still the norm.

The second type of overlap is much more common: it occurs in S-4 (51 MDEs against 43 HDEs), S-8 (50 and 39), S-15 (47 and 44), S-18 (51 and 41), S-26 (54 and 36), and S-29 (49 and 43). While it is gratifying to note that most respondents still bear out our judgment in classifying the situations as all MDSs, the fact that a significant number of respondents use a HDE does require a comment. Four variables among others weigh most significantly in deciding what level of expression to use in a given situation: the nature of relationship with H, whether or not H was doing his duty, the amount of cost to H involved in the action and the degree of 'benefit' to S. It is a 'balance' of these factors which determines the expression to be used, if we idealize the situation and discount the complicating factors

of personality, subjectivity, etc.. Even a rough attempt to calculate the balance of each of the situations shows that S-15, which came closest to proving our classification wrong, is on the top of the 'balance' table: the nature of relationship (subordinate-superordinate), the consideration of duty (not part of his duty at all), the degree of 'benefit' to S (a better job), and the degree of 'cost' to H (loss of a good employee) all seem to predispose the situation to this rank. While a precise calculation of these and other factors for all the situations is not feasible, there does seem to be some correlation between the weight of the factors and the degree to which the situations come close to being reclassified as HDSs. Thus, S-8 and S-29, which were in the least danger of reclassification, are also at the bottom of the 'balance' table in view probably of the 'duty' factor in S-8 (H is a bank employee) and the 'duty' and the 'relationship' factors in S-29 (H is a neighbour).

The third type of overlap is with HDE on the one side and with LDE on the other. Cases of this type are S-3, S-21 and S-23. The exact figures are as follows:

MDS	LDE	MDE	HDE
S-3	25	54	20
S-21	21	53	24
S-23	20	61	17

It is difficult to say much about these cases except that our estimate of the situations as MDSs seems to be borne out and to that extent the criteria also seem to be confirmed. The almost equal degree of fluctuation towards either side could be indicative of subjective evaluations of the 'cost' and 'benefit' factors.

As in the case of LDSs, so in the present case of MDSs too, application of the 'either-side-overlap' measure produces interesting results. The subcategorization suggested by us in Ch. III was as follows:

MDSs--
- HIGH: S-4, S-8, S-15, S-18, S-21, S-29
- LOW : S-3, S-12, S-23, S-26

The analytical measure produces the following picture:

MDSs--
- HIGH: S-4, S-8, S-15, S-18, S-21, S-26, S-29
- LOW : S-3, S-12, S-23

The only discrepant situation here is S-26. Our reasons for subclassifying it as a Low MDS were the following: the situation involves a neighbour fetching a doctor late at night in his car to attend to 'you' (= the patient). Despite the distance, lateness of hour, etc. which accentuate the suspension of the PIE on the part of the neighbour, we did not feel the situation met The Affect

Condition, or The Non-Expectancy Condition, though it met The Excess Condition. If it had met all the three conditions, it would probably have been classified as a HDS; if it had met two (Excess as well as Non-Expectancy), perhaps we'd still have classified it as MDS but as a High MDS. But since there is the 'relationship' variable to reckon with, nothing could have been predicted with certitude. Since there is no such thing as a 'Standard Neighbour', responses would naturally vary, but from the respondent responses it appears that the situation as conceived by us goes somewhat beyond what we normally expect from a neighbour. However, since the calculation of the exact position of the neighbour on the 'distance' scale and its effect on the application of the stipulated conditions is not feasible, the discrepancy is not in the least surprising. What is, in fact, a pleasant surprise is that nine out of the ten situations confirm the subcategorization suggested on theoretical grounds.

C. **HDEs overlap with MDEs:**

As the following table (4.3) shows, the HDSs also generally follow the pattern envisaged in our hypothesis.

Table overleaf

TABLE 4.3

Percentage Distribution of Respondents on the Use of Expressions in HDSs

Sl.No.	Situations	Hi	Mo	Lo	No	Ot
1	S-1	36	22	15	23	04
2	S-6	76	17	04	01	02
3	S-9	88	12	00	00	00
4	S-11	59	36	05	00	00
5	S-14	82	15	03	00	00
6	S-16	60	34	06	00	00
7	S-19	60	31	05	01	03
8	S-25	53	44	02	00	01
9	S-27	93	05	00	00	02
10	S-30	80	17	01	01	01

Except in S-1, the situations classified as HDSs mostly elicit HDEs or MDEs. The HDEs are highest in all cases including S-1. This justifies our classification and accordingly indicates that we can place confidence on the criteria which form the basis of the classification. Five out of the ten situations in fact elicited a HDE in 76% cases or more (S-6, S-9, S-14, S-27 and S-30); in three situations (S-11, S-16, S-19) the percentage was around 60. In nine out of ten cases, the incidence of expressions other

than HDE and MDE could be safely neglected. Some explanation is, however, ne-cessary in the case of S-1 and in those cases where the incidence of MDEs was fairly high (viz. S-11, S-16, S-19 and S-25).

S-1 seems to have been rendered ambiguous by the rather high degree of variation which is possible in one's relationship with one's brother. The way the situation is constructed assumes at least a minimal relationship with one's brother since it excludes the case where the relationship is so strained that one would not even approach one's brother for help. The lower limit on the variation is thus pre-defined. The upper limit is defined by the 23 respondents who do not use any expression of gratitude thereby signalling an almost absolute claim of one on one's brother. The fact that, out of the remaining 77, 58 would still use a HDE or a MDE, however, shows that the situation is perceived by the majority as exceeding the level of demand one can reasonably make on one's brother even after allowing for one's natural right on him. Since the degree of this 'excess' must be in the largest measure determined by the nature of one's relationship with one's brother, one may reasonably conclude that the degree of closeness of this relationship progressively declines as one moves from the No cases to Lo cases, from the Lo cases to Mo cases and from the Mo cases to Hi cases. It would be however, hazardous to say that the 58 Mo + Hi cases set some kind of a norm, since

the 23 No cases and 22 Mo cases, which represent the permissible overlaps of the 15 Lo cases, make a total of 60 cases arguing for a different norm. Hence the indeterminacy of the case must be admitted and attributed to the subjective element involved in the nature of one's relationship with one's brother.

A comparison with S-19 confirms this conclusion. The situation in S-19 is the same, but the brother is replaced by a friend. Though the subjective element is still operational, it is considerably reduced. Only one respondent would say No, only five would use a LDE and ninety-one would use a HDE or a MDE.

While S-1 defies explanation in our framework, the second set of cases (S-11, S-16, S-19, S-25) is not so recalcitrant. Apart from the fact that variation of one point does not affect our classification seriously, the role of the subjective element, though not absent, is curtailed somewhat by certain objective features of the situation like the nature of the action performed. E.g. saving one's life would naturally stand higher than help with money. From this viewpoint, the high incidence of HDEs in S-27 and S-30 is to be expected. The higher number of HDEs in S-27 (93) than in S-30 (80) is also understandable in view of the fact that H is a stranger here while in S-30 he is a friend. Extrapolating from these, one can also attempt certain predictions about S-11, S-16, S-19 and S-25. It is

significant that the overlap is the highest in those cases where H is a neighbour (S-25) or a friend (S-11) or where the nature of the action performed seems to impose a relatively lower degree of obligation (S-16, S-19).

As in the case of LDSs and MDSs, we can try to subdivide the HDSs too into High and Low categories and match the results with the subclassification given in Ch. III. The rough-and-ready measure devised for LDSs and MDSs is, however, not applicable to HDSs, since there is nothing higher than a HDS and no comparative figures are available for distinguishing a High HDS from a Low HDS. We can nevertheless devise some other rough-and-ready measure. We could, for example, take the total number of Mo, Lo and No expressions occurring in response to the HDSs, and, since they represented the number of respondents who thought that the situation deserved a lower degree of gratitude than what we had assigned to them, could use them as our measure. If the number of such respondents was low, we could put such situations in the High HDS category; if it was high, we could put the situations in the Low HDS category. The problem, of course, would be how to determine 'high' and 'low'. This problem can be overcome if, instead of selecting an arbitrary, or intuitively identified, cut-off point, we find out the average of the non-Hi expressions (excluding of course, the Ot(her) category expressions) used for all the ten situations. This average would represent

the average number of respondents who disagree with our evaluation of the situations and consider them to belong to a lower degree of gratitude. Taking this average as the cut-off point, we could place all HDSs which elicit more than the average non-Hi expressions in the Low HDS category and all HDSs which elicit less than the average in the High HDS category.

As a first step let us calculate the total number of non-Hi expressions (excluding Ot) for each situation:

TABLE 4.4

Total Number of Non-Hi Expressions in High Degree Situations

Situations	Mo	Lo	No	Total Non-Hi
S-1	22	15	23	60
S-6	17	04	01	22
S-9	12	00	00	12
S-11	36	05	00	41
S-14	15	03	00	18
S-16	34	06	00	40
S-19	31	05	01	47
S-25	44	02	00	46
S-27	05	00	00	05
S-30	17	01	01	19
			Total =	300
			Average Non-Hi Expression	$\frac{300}{10} = 30$

The average number of non-Hi expressions for each situation thus worked out to 30 (Admittedly there is a high contribution from S-1, the problematic case). Taking 30 as the cut-off point the following subcategorization emerges:

HDS---
- HIGH: S-6, S-9, S-14, S-27, S-30
- LOW : S-1, S-11, S-16, S-19, S-25

Surprisingly, this subcategorization matches exactly the subcategorization of HDSs offered on theoretical grounds in Ch. III.

Conclusion

Let us now try to highlight the significance of the findings reported in this section. To recapitulate the earlier parts of the thesis, we set out certain criteria for judging situations which call for expressions of 'pure' politeness. These criteria or conditions of gratitude were variable and therefore justified having degrees of gratitude. Accordingly, expressions of gratitude could also vary from expressions conveying a low degree of gratitude, a high degree of gratitude and a moderate degree of gratitude. It was not thought feasible to have a finer distinction of degrees. The respondents gave their judgments regarding the 'degree' of an expression in the pilot study.

In the main study we devised a set of situations which reflected the conditions of gratitude. We attempted to build into the situations the various parameters implied in the

conditions and, as far as possible, tried to vary them so that some significant conclusions could emerge. We then asked the respondents to say which of the selected expressions they would use in each situation. In the analysis presented here we have tried to correlate the 'degree' of the expressions with the 'degree' of the situations. Using essentially a three-point scale (which has turned out in reality to be a four-point one), we have tried to read the results. Certain other variables which might have affected the outcome were also included in the study and, though their effect will be presented in greater detail in the next section, a reference to them seemed to be ne-cessary.

Our main conclusion is that in all cases the majority of respondents confirm our classification of the situations which was based on the criteria/conditions of gratitude set out in Ch. II. However, it did not seem adequate to leave the study at that. Something could be said about the variation appearing in the responses and we have taken the risk of saying it. The major element involved in variation beyond acceptable limits (which we had to define) we have identified as 'subjectivity' in certain relationships. This should not be viewed as dropping of an 'unknown' variable in the middle of the study which aims at isolating 'known' variables, but as trying to restrict the role of the unknown variable which, if let loose, could play havoc with the whole analysis. By restricting the role of this 'rogue' variable, we have tried to highlight the identifiable role of the other variables. Being possibly the first study of this kind,

there may be loopholes in the way we have gone about doing this task but we must make sure that the loopholes do not arise from hindsight. There are studies in plenty which set out the theoretical framework for the study of speech acts, and there are multifarious empirical studies of expressions used by speakers of various languages for performing those speech acts, but a marriage of the two, with the explicit goal of using the latter to test and verify the former, have been somewhat scarce, if not totally absent. In fact, even how to go about conducting a study of this type has not been clear. If the study presented here appears hamhanded in certain ways at least part of the explanation must arise from this difficulty.

Section B

Hypothesis 2: In this section we shall present the results of the statistical analysis we carried out in order to test our hypothesis that certain socio-psychological variables (like sex, age, religion, educational qualification, etc.) affect the choice of expressions of gratitude and politeness. The variables that were tested were the following:-

1. Sex
2. Age
3. Religion
4. Mother Tongue
5. Educational Qualification
6. Medium of Education at School

7. Medium of Education at College

8. Work-Status.

The method of analysis was as follows:

For each of the 100 respondents, comprising 58 males and 42 females, and for each of the 30 hypothesized situations, a tabulation was prepared showing the number of the expression (1 to 13: see Appendix IV for the expressions) used by each respondent in each situation. Thus a matrix consisting of 100 rows (representing the respondents) and 30 columns (representing the hypothesized situations) was obtained. The cells were filled-in by the number of the expression used by each respondent for each situation.

Following this, each of the socio-psychological variables listed above (which, for computer use, were numbered as variables 31 to 38 following the 30 hypothesized situations) was described for the number of 'terms' it had. The terms of the variables were numbered as follows:

Table overleaf

TABLE 4.5

The Numbering of the Terms of the Variables

1. Sex

   Male = 01

   Female = 02

2. Age (in years)

   21 to 30 = 01

   31 to 40 = 02

   41 to 50 = 03

   51 to 60 = 04

3. Religion

   Hindu = 01

   Muslim = 02

4. Mother Tongue

   Hindi = 01

   Urdu = 02

5. Educational Qualification

   High School = 01

   Intermediate = 02

   Bechelors = 03

   Masters = 04

   Professional = 05

Table continued

6. Medium of Education at School

Hindi = 01

English = 02

Other = 03

---

7. Medium of Education at College

Hindi = 01

English = 02

Other = 03

---

8. Work-Status

Student = 01

Housewife = 02

Employed = 03

After the entire tabulation was ready, the computer was asked to calculate the following:

1. The numbers and percentages of respondents belonging to each term of the variable using each expression in each situation.
2. The total numbers and the total percentages of all the persons using each expression in each situation irrespective of any variable. The numbers and percentages were identical here since the total number of respondents was 100.
3. For each variable 31 to 38 (Sex, Age, etc.), the computer was asked to examine its correlation with variables 1 to 30 (the hypothesized situations) in terms of the numbers (i.e.

the numbers of expressions 1 to 13) occupying the cells indicating the expression used by each respondent in each situation. Since the numbers in the socio-psychological variable cells (Nos. 31 to 38) represented the term of the variable to which each respondent belonged, the computer could cross-check to see how these correlated with the numbers (of expressions) occupying the cells in the first 30 columns. The statistical products it was asked to generate were the chi-square values, the df (degrees of freedom) and the level of significance for each variable. What this meant was that the computer would first examine the observed frequency (fo) of each expression for each term of variable (i.e. would find out how many of the respondents belonging to that term of the variable used the given expression in the given situation). Next it would compare fo with the expected frequency (fe), which corresponds to the number of respondents belonging to that term (e.g. 58 and 42 represent the expected frequencies of each expression in a given situation for the Male and Female terms of the variable Sex respectively since there were 58 males and 42 females in the sample). It would then calculate the chi-square values for each socio-psychological variable.

To illustrate, when the computer examines the correlation of the Sex variable (V.31) with S-1 (V.1), it presents us with the following analysis:

TABLE 4.6

Correlation between V.1 and V.31 in S-1

Expr. No.	is used by: 1. No. of males 2. % of total males using this expression 3. % of total males in the sample	is used by: 1. No. of females 2. % of total females using this experssion 3. % of total females in the sample
1	1. 1 2. 50.0 3. 1.7	1. 1 2. 50.0 3. 2.4
2	1. 3 2. 37.5 3. 5.2	1. 5 2. 62.5 3. 11.9
3	1. 5 2. 71.4 3. 8.6	1. 2 2. 28.6 3. 4.8
4	1. 6 2. 50.0 3. 6.0	1. 6 2. 50.0 3. 6.0
5	1. 7 2. 58.3 3. 12.1	1. 5 2. 41.7 3. 11.9

Table continued

Expr. No.	is used by: 1. No. of males 2. % of total males using this expression 3. % of total males in the sample	is used by: 1. No. of females 2. % of total females using this expression 3. % of total females in the sample
7	1. 1 2. 50.0 3. 1.7	1. 1 2. 50.0 3. 2.4
8	1. 0 2. 0.0 3. 0.0	1. 2 2. 100.0 3. 4.8
9	1. 2 2. 50.0 3. 3.4	1. 2 2. 50.0 3. 4.8
10	1. 4 2. 100.0 3. 6.9	1. 0 2. 0.0 3. 0.0
11	1. 10 2. 50.0 3. 17.2	1. 10 2. 50.0 3. 23.8
12	1. 16 2. 69.6 3. 27.6	1. 7 2. 30.4 3. 16.7
13	1. 3 2. 75.0 3. 5.2	1. 1 2. 25.0 3. 2.4

Having presented this calculation it proceeds to give us the summed chi-square value for the variable Sex (which is 10.34563).

In order to interpret this chi-square value we also need to know the df. The computer calculates the df according to the formulae applicable to contingency tables. [viz. df = (r - 1) (k - 1)] where r = rows and k = columns. It should be noted that any expression that is not used at all by any respondent in a given situation is dropped by the computer (in the above table Expression No. 6 has not been used by any respondent in S-1. The df in the present case is 11). The computer also gives us the level of significance according to the chi-square table. In this case it is 0.4996 (or about .05). This signifies a very low degree of correlation between the male - female distinction and the use of expressions in S - 1 and gives no reason to reject the null hypothesis that, in this situation, there is no sex-based difference between the choice of expressions. We might, however, find that for another situation the correlation is high and a high chi-square value indicates that the preference is not a chance-based feature of our sample. In the present analysis we shall mention only those situations in which the effect of the variable in question is shown to be significant.

As will be noted, ours is a situation-based analysis i.e. we have calculated the level of significance for each **situation**. It appears from hindsight that an expression-based analysis would perhaps also have been useful. However, since our criteria

for the use of expressions were embodied in the situations, and our main thrust was to seek confirmation for the criteria, we throughout gave primary importance to situations.

Another fact that must be mentioned here is that the computer analysis was done in terms of individual expressions and individual situations. Later, Percentage Analysis was attempted for categories of expressions (Hi, Mo, Lo, etc.) and categories of situations (Hi, Mo and Lo). Only sample results of this analysis will be presented towards the end of this chapter.

Let us now present the results of the computer analysis of each of the socio-psychological variables:

Results

I. The Effect of Sex

Only three of the thirty situations showed a significant effect of Sex on the use of expressions ($P < .05$). These three situations were S-12, S-14 and S-23. The following table shows the chi-square value and their levels of significance.

Table overleaf

TABLE 4.7

Chi-square Values and their Level of Significance Showing the Relationship between 'Sex' and the Situations

Sl.No.	Situations	Chi-square (df)	Level of Significance
1.	S-12	22.28192 (10)	.0137 *
2.	S-14	16.10955 (8)	.0408 *
3.	S-28	20.67579 (10)	.0235 *

NB: (1) Figures in parentheses indicate the df

(2) * $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

We decided to take a closer look at the use of expressions in each of these three situations and worked out the percentages of males and of females using different categories of expressions. The following picture emerged for S-12, in which the respondents were required to choose the expressions for thanking a woman colleague who offers to do your office work for you so that you can attend to some urgent personal business.

TABLE 4.8

Percentage Distribution of Expressions by Males and Females in S-12

Exprs.	S-12 (MDS)	
	Males	Females
Hi	1.7	2.4
Mo	44.8	52.4
Lo	48.3	45.2
No	1.7	0.0
Ot	3.4	0.0

The general pattern emerging from the table is that women tend to use expressions of a relatively higher degree of gratitude in thanking a woman colleague than men. In fact, some men (1.7%) would not use an expression at all which contrasts with zero for women. Sociologists may like to read some significance in these figures regarding the attitude of men towards their women colleagues at work, but so far as our present concerns are involved, we can only highlight the fact that, apart from the criteria we have discussed for the choice of an expression of gratitude, such attitudes may also have a role to play.

The case of S-14 (by our criteria a situation requiring expression of a high degree of gratitude) presents another interesting story. The percentage figures are as follows:

TABLE 4.9

Percentage Distribution of Expressions by Males and Females in S-14

Exprs.	S-14 (HDS)	
	Males	Females
Hi	75.9	90.5
Mo	20.6	7.1
Lo	3.4	2.4
No	0.0	0.0
Ot	0.0	0.0

The situation involves considerable risk and alertness on the part of a stranger who saves your brother/child from being mauled by a leopard in the zoo. The percentage figures are of considerable interest from the psychological viewpoint: 90.5% of women would use a HDE as compared to 75.9% of men. In a situation like this, where the "protector" role of a man is on test, women give their gratitude unstintedly and spontaneously whereas man's spontaneity may be somewhat curtailed by a sense of personal inadequacy. If this interpretation is valid, S-14 also suggests that our criteria for the choice of expressions may be subject to psychological limitations.

S-23, a MDS by our criteria, involves the respondent in the role of a poor parent asking for a fee-exemption for his/her

brother/child at school. The exemption is granted by the Principal. The percentage figures for different categories of expressions among males and females are as follows:

TABLE 4.10

Percentage Distribution of Expressions by Males and Females in S-23

Exprs.	S-23 (MDS)	
	Males	Females
Hi	27.5	2.4
Mo	46.5	81.0
Lo	24.1	14.2
No	0.0	0.0
Ot	1.7	2.4

The 81% vote of the women for a MDE accords well with our criteria and would put the situation firmly in the middle category. This decision is not disputed by the figures for the males but the fluctuation is rather hard to explain. It is possible that the situation hypothesized, sets too much store by imagination: it is difficult to put oneself totally in the situation of a poor parent if you really are not poor and one may either overshoot or undershoot. This, of course, leaves unexplained the block vote of the women. It is, however,

possible that in a society where school admissions of children are still a man's job, women had a more distant, and a more conceptual appraisal of the situation, whereas men's judgments were more directly exposed to considerations of reality. Once again, our criteria are shown to be subject to psycho-social limitations and our decision to allow for such limitations (by, e.g., allowing overlap on eitherside) is seen to be a justifiable one.

II. The Effect of Age

The respondents were divided into four age groups. The four age groups and the number of respondents in each age group were as follows:

Age Group (in years)		No. of Respondents
21 to 30	=	46
31 to 40	=	27
41 to 50	=	10
51 to 60	=	17
		100

We obtained a general situation-independent profile of expression use for each age group (see TABLE 4.11), which proved of little interest since any expectation that respondents of any age group would show absolute performance for a specific category of expressions was totally belied: the ability to discriminate between expressions on the basis of the parameters of the

situation is given to every adult. A small fact of some significance may be the progressive decline in the percentage of the non-use of any expression (= No) as the age group advances. As people grow older, they probably tend to attach more importance to the verbalization of gratitude.

TABLE 4.11

Overall Percentage Distribution of Respondents of the Four Age Groups on the Use of Expressions

Exprs.	Age (IN YEARS)			
	21 to 30	31 to 40	41 to 50	51 to 60
Hi	32.97	36.54	31.66	34.31
Mo	26.44	26.04	28.66	29.41
Lo	33.55	32.71	34.33	32.94
No	5.14	4.19	4.0	3.13
Ot	1.88	0.49	1.33	0.19

Only in two situations (S-14 and S-22), the choice of expressions showed a significant correlation with the age group factor. The chi-square values and level of significance for the two situations are as under:

TABLE 4.12

Chi-square Values and their Level of Significance Showing the Relationship between 'Age' and the Situations

Sl.No.	Situations	Chi-square (df)	Level of Significance
1.	S-14	41.34788 (24)	0.0153 *
2.	S-22	35.05064 (21)	0.0279 *

NB: (1) Figures in the parentheses indicate the df

(2) * $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Not much, however, can be read into these figures. In S-14 the main division seems to occur between the age group 21 to 40 years on the one side and the age group 41 to 60 years on the other (See TABLE 4.13).

Table overleaf

TABLE 4.13

Percentage Distribution of Respondents of the Four Age Groups on the Use of Expressions in Two Situations

S-14 (HDS)

Exprs.	21-30 yrs.	31-40 yrs.	41-50 yrs.	51-60 yrs.
Hi	82.6	75.0	90.0	88.2
Mo	15.2	22.2	10.0	5.9
Lo	2.2	3.7	0.0	5.9
No	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ot	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

S-22 (LDS)

Exprs.	21-30 yrs.	31-40 yrs.	41-50 yrs.	51-60 yrs.
Hi	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mo	4.3	0.0	10.0	0.0
Lo	82.6	100.0	90.0	100.0
No	10.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ot	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0

The combined percentages of these two groups (in S-14) are 78.8 and 89.1 respectively and one might be tempted to conclude that persons in the older age group feel that a greater degree of gratitude is due in this situation. We may relate these figures with the Sex variable figures for this situation where we found

women using a HDE almost exclusively and conclude that the choice of the degree of gratitude to be expressed is probably also related to the extent of S's own ability to perform the task for which gratitude is being expressed to H. This conclusion would be based on the arguable assumption that women and older persons are somewhat less capable of dealing with a situation like the one involved in S-14. However, we do not have to resort to this kind of fancy reasoning because of the fact that we have allowed for one degree of overlap on either side and when we take this overlap into account, the differences between age groups turn out to be marginal.

There is perhaps even less to be read into the figures for S-22 which involves expression of gratitude to H for appreciating your painting. The high percentages for LDEs across all age groups bears out our classification of the situation as a LDS and confirm that, at least in this case, the socio-psychological factors do not limit the applicability of our criteria. It may also be noted that, being at the lower end of the scale, the situation may simply call for an expression of politeness, accounting for the greater degree of predictability.

III. The Effect of Religion

The variable Religion has two terms: Hindu and Muslim. The respondents are equally distributed, there being 50 Hindus and 50 Muslims. As the Chi-square table below (4.14) shows, there seems to be a high degree of correlation between this variable and the use of expressions since 10 of the 30

situations show level of significance equal to or below .05 level and four of them below .01 level.

TABLE 4.14

Chi-square Values and their Level of Significance Showing the Relationship between 'Religion' and the Situations

Sl.No.	Situations	Chi-square (df)	Level of Significance
1.	S-1	27.78157 (11)	.0035**
2.	S-2	19.67055 (6)	.0032**
3.	S-5	18.58055 (6)	.0049**
4.	S-6	19.96768 (11)	.0458*
5.	S-12	21.55754 (10)	.0175*
6.	S-16	18.80932 (10)	.0428*
7.	S-17	17.27424 (9)	.0446*
8.	S-20	14.06527 (7)	.0500*
9.	S-21	32.61172 (11)	.0006**
10.	S-30	17.10343 (9)	.0471*

NB: (1) Figures in the parentheses indicate the df

(2) * p < .05

**p < .01

Going by well-established statistical measures, this indicates that the difference in the choice of expressions by Hindus and Muslims is not a chance-based feature of our sample but shows

differential preferences.

Unfortunately, the category-wise classification of expressions fails to throw any light on this phenomenon (TABLE 4.15).

TABLE 4.15

Percentage Distribution of Hindus and Muslims on the Use of Expressions in Ten Situations

	S-1(HDS)		S-2(LDS)		S-5(LDS)		S-6(HDS)		S-12(MDS)	
Exprs.	Hind.	Musl.	Hind.	Musl.	Hind.	Musl.	Hind.	Musl.	Hind.	Musl.
Hi	48.0	24.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	76.0	0.0	0.0	4.0
Mo	12.0	32.0	18.0	6.0	6.0	10.0	16.0	18.0	58.0	38.0
Lo	18.0	12.0	80.0	94.0	90.0	88.0	2.0	6.0	36.0	58.0
No	22.0	24.0	2.0	0.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	2.0	0.0
Ot	0.0	8.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	4.0	0.0

Table continued

	S-16(HDS)		S-17(LDS)		S-20(LDS)		S-21(MDS)		S-30(HDS)	
Exprs.	Hind.	Musl.	Hind.	Musl.	Hind.	Musl.	Hind.	Musl.	Hind.	Musl.
Hi	62.0	58.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	24.0	24.0	88.0	72.0
Mo	32.0	36.0	7.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	52.0	54.0	6.0	28.0
Lo	6.0	6.0	84.0	94.0	96.0	94.0	20.0	22.0	2.0	0.0
No	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0
Ot	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	2.0	0.0

NB: Hind. = Hindus and Musl. = Muslims

The percentage figures for Hindus and Muslims for each category of expression used in the situations in question show a good deal of symmetry except in S-1. In other words, generally speaking, Hindus and Muslims do not differ much in their judgment regarding the category of expression (HDE, MDE, LDE etc.) to be used in a particular situation and their judgment, on the whole, confirms our criteria (particularly when the permissible overlaps are taken into account). The only exception to this is S-1, which we have seen to be a problem case earlier too.

How, then, do we explain the situations which show significant level of correlation between Religion and the expressions used? Two points need to be noted before we attempt an explanation: Firstly, the chi-square values are computed for individual expressions and later summed for all expressions. We have no chi-square values based on categories of expressions (which are not calculated but, with benefit of hindsight, should have been calculated). We have instead relied on percentages like the ones given in TABLE 4.15. Secondly, Religion had two terms: Hindu and Muslim. Though in the population as a whole Hindi and Urdu are not neccessarily identified totally as the languages of Hindus and Muslims respectively, there is a very high degree of identification between religion and language, which we need not try to establish empirically. We found evidence of this in our study itself when our analysis revealed almost identical figures for the variable Religion and the variable Mother Tongue. 95 out of 100 cases in our study

confirmed this identification, as a result of which we, in fact, decided not to compute the correlation of the latter variable with 'expressions used' separately.

How do these two points help us? They help us by indicating that we must seek the explanation for the high degree of correlation between Religion and 'expressions used' in the individual expressions and not in their category-wise classification. We could hypothesize that Hindus would tend to prefer expressions which have no Urdu words in them or certain Urdu words which have become common; Muslims, on the other hand, would prefer expressions with Urdu words in them (e.g., E-5, E-7, E-8, E-9). However in view of the widespread use of Hindi in schools, offices, films, etc. (at least in the north) since independence, which has made it available to Muslims (particularly of the younger age groups) as well, a slightly modified hypothesis would appear to be more reasonable: while 'Hindi' expressions (with no or simple 'Urdu' words in them, e.g. E-2, E-3, E-6, E-10, E-11) would probably be used with more or less equal frequency by both Hindus and Muslims, (with perhaps an edge for the former), 'Urdu' expressions (with only or less common Urdu words in them, e.g. E-7, E-8, E-9) will be used mostly by Muslims. By the same token, 'neutral' words (which are taken from English e.g. E-1 'Thank you') will tend to be used almost equally frequently by the two groups, though due to other variables like Educational Qualification the frequencies too would show some differences.

The following tables, which classify the expressions 'linguistically' more or less bear out our modified hypothesis:

TABLE 4.16

Use of 'Hindi' Expressions by Hindus and Muslims in all the Thirty Situations

'Hindi' Exprs.		Total uses in all Situations by	
		Hindus	Muslims
E-2	main aapke ehsaan/ehsaano ke bojhh se dabaa/dabii huun	77	37
E-3	dhanyavaad	199	118
E-4	main aapke ehsaan/ehsaano kaa badlaa is janam mein nahiin chukaa saktaa/saktii	146	63
E-5	main aapkaa/aapkii bahut ehsaanmand huun	201	195
E-6	marne ke baad bhii main aapke ehsaan kaa badlaa nahiin chukaa saktaa/saktii	70	53
E-10	agar aap aaj na hote to main kahiin kaa/kii naa rehtaa/rehtii	112	117
E-11	main aapkaa yeh ehsaan jiivan bhar nahiin bhool saktaa/saktii	200	260

TABLE 4.17

Use of 'Urdu' Expressions by Hindus and Muslims in all the Thirty Situations

'Urdu' Exprs.		Total uses in all Situations by	
		Hindus	Muslims
E-7	shukriaa	60	195
E-8	mere paas aapkaa shukriaa adaa karne ke liye alphaaz/shabda nahiin hain	120	182
E-9	aapkii navaazish	19	36

TABLE 4.18

Use of a 'Neutral' Expression by Hindus and Muslims in all the Thirty Situations

'Neutral' Expr.		Total uses in all Situations by	
		Hindus	Muslims
E-1	Thank you.	208	164

It may be noted that E-4 (TABLE 4.16) tells its own story. As an expression of gratitude it makes reference to 'this life' ('I can't repay --- in this life'). The respective figures of use

for Hindus and Muslims are 146 and 63 respectively. Since by our criterion, it must be considered a 'Hindi' expression, why is figure for Muslims so small? The answer may lie in the Hindu belief in the 'next life' or 'transmigration of souls' which is not shared by Muslims. If true, this explanation adds another type of socio-psychological consideration which may limit the applicability of our criteria for the use of expressions of gratitude.

Though the explanation we have offered may not be completely convincing, we feel that at present this is the only explanation for the significant levels of correlation appearing in TABLE 4.14. Until further work either shows the levels of significance to be different, or comes up with alternative explanations, we may have to stay satisfied with the one offered here.

IV. The Effect of Educational Qualification

The choice of expressions in each situation was also examined for the effect of the respondent's educational qualification. Five levels of Educational Qualification were identified. The levels and the number of respondents in each level were as follows:

Educational Qualification	No. of Respondents
High School	2
Intermediate	8
Bachelors	20

Masters	47
Professionals	23
	100

As the following table (4.19) shows, a disconcertingly large number of situations (9) showed chi-square value which fixed their levels of significance at .05 or below.

TABLE 4.19

Chi-square Values and their Level of Significance Showing the Relationship between 'Educational Qualification' and the Situations

Sl.No.	Situations	Chi-square (df)	Level of Significance
1	S-1	62.79775 (44)	.0327 *
2	S-2	37.91714 (24)	.0354 *
3	S-5	56.64373 (24)	.0002 **
4	S-8	83.90589 (40)	.0001 **
5	S-19	73.42981 (40)	.0010 **
6	S-23	61.84969 (40)	.0149 *
7	S-24	66.13984 (28)	.0001 **
8	S-26	78.16769 (44)	.0012 **
9	S-30	54.72572 (36)	.0235 *

NB: (1) Figures in the parentheses indicate the df

(2) * $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Four of the situations (S-1, S-2, S-23 and S-30) are significant at .05 level while five (S-5, S-8, S-19, S-24 and S-26) are significant at .01 level. Three of the situations (S-5, S-8 and S-24) in fact show very 'alarming' levels of significance (.0002, .0001 and .0001 respectively).

When we take into account the conditions of the analyses, however we may have little reason for alarm. The relevant considerations are the following:

1. Since the chi-square values are for each expression, later summed up for each situation, explanations are possible in terms of the features of each situation but not in terms of categories of expressions. For this we rely on percentage figures given in TABLE 4.20.
2. Two of the five terms of variable (High School and Intermediate) contain very small number of respondents (2 and 8 respectively). As a result even a small difference in the choice of expression contributes a large effect to the computation. Combined with the fact that chi-square values are computed for individual expressions, and then summed, these enlarged effects add up to very large figures. For example, in S-1 the 2 respondents who have education upto High School choose two different expressions. Had they chosen the same, the chi-square value would have been significantly affected.

TABLE 4.20

Percentage Distribution of Respondents of the Five Levels of Education on the Use of Expressions in Nine Situations

	S-1 (HDS)					S-2 (LDS)				
Exprs.	H.Sc.	Inter.	Bach.	Mas.	Profs.	H.Sc.	Inter.	Bach.	Mas.	Profs.
Hi	0.0	50.0	25.0	46.8	21.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3
Mo	50.0	25.0	35.0	17.1	17.3	0.0	0.0	5.0	17.0	13.0
Lo	50.0	12.5	15.0	10.6	21.7	100	100	95.0	83.0	82.6
No	0.0	0.0	20.0	23.4	34.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ot	0.0	12 5	5.0	2.1	4.3	0.0.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Table continued

	S-5 (LDS)					S-8 (MDS)				
Exprs.	H.Sc.	Inter	Bach.	Mas.	Profs.	H.Sc.	Inter	Bach.	Mas.	Profs.
Hi	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	25.0	49.0	39.0
Mo	0.0	50.0	5.0	4.3	4.3	50.0	75.0	65.0	42.5	43.4
Lo	100	49.5	90.0	93.7	91.3	50.0	0.0	10.0	6.4	13.0
No	0.0	0.0	5.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ot	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3

Table continued

	S-19(HDS)					S-23(MDS)				
Exprs.	H.Sc.	Inter.	Bach.	Mas.	Profs.	H.Sc.	Inter.	Bach.	Mas.	Profs.
Hi	0.0	25.0	70.0	63.8	60.9	0.0	12.5	15.0	12.8	30.4
Mo	50.0	62.5	20.0	34.1	21.7	50.0	87.5	70.0	59.6	47.8
Lo	50.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	13.0	50.0	0.0	15.0	23.3	21.6
No	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ot	0.0	12.5	5.0	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	0.0

Table continued

	S-24(LDS)					S-26(MDS)				
xprs.	H.Sc.	Inter.	Bach.	Mas.	Profs.	H.Sc.	Inter.	Bach.	Mas.	Profs
Hi	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	4.3	0.0	87.5	25.0	31.9	39.0
Mo	0.0	50.0	0.0	12.7	8.7	100	12.5	50.0	66.0	43.5
Lo	100	50.0	100	85.0	86.9	0.0	0.0	25.0	2.1	13.0
No	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ot	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3

Table continued

	S-30(HDS)				
Exprs.	H.Sc.	Inter.	Bach.	Mas.	Profs.
Hi	50.0	87.5	60.0	85.1	87.0
Mo	50.0	12.5	40.0	12.8	4.3
Lo	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3
No	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3
Ot	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.0

NB: H.Sc. = High School, Inter. = Intermediate,
Bach. = Bachelor's, Mas. = Master's
Profs. = Professionals

3. As the percentage table shows, our classification of the situations as HDS, MDS etc. is borne out in almost all cases (in all cases if the permissible overlap is taken into account). The validity of the criteria of classification is, therefore, not in question. What we have to consider is whether the interpretation of these criteria by respondents is significantly affected by the educational qualification. It may be a relatively safe guess that if we omit the H.Sc. and Inter. categories and take into account only the remaining three (which contain 90% of the respondents), the effect, speaking in overall terms, would not be shown to be a significant one.

If we now look at TABLE 4.20 and allow for the considerations mentioned above, we conclude that:-

(i) S-2, S-5, S-8, S-19, S-24, S-26 and S-30 conform to the pattern and the educational qualification has no significant effect on them.

(ii) S-1 continues to be problematic.

(iii) S-23 shows that the variable may have some effect. The special features of this situation were discussed above in connection with the Sex variable. It is, however, difficult to see how Educational Qualification can explain the observed variation in the response of respondents in the last three categories.

V. The Effect of Medium of Education at School:

VI. The Effect of Medium of Education at College:

These two variables were included with an intention of checking whether the medium of education at school and college would show some effect on the choice of the expressions. As things turned out, the utility of these variables was considerably reduced because of two facts: first, the majority of respondents have had either Hindi or English as the medium at school/college; there were very few in the Ot category. The 'Other' category, where it was cited included Urdu and Persian, but the numbers in these categories were so small (5 in 'school' and 7 in 'college') that whatever significance they could contribute was prematurely lost. Once again, these small numbers contribute a large effect in computation thereby reducing its reliability. We have therefore excluded the 'Other' category from consideration. Secondly, these two variables could have

affected the choice of individual expressions in the sense that a respondent with education through the Hindi medium might show a preference for 'Hindi' expressions, one with Urdu medium for 'Urdu' expressions, but since our focus was on categories of expressions, this effect was not highlighted. Our suspicion, however, supported by a cursory scrutiny of the figures is that with the exclusion of the 'Other' category and the near-irrelevance of English in this context, the effect on the choice of individual expression is also not at all significant.

TABLE 4.21

Chi-square Values and their Level of Significance Showing the Relationship between 'Medium of Education at School' and the Situations

Sl.No.	Situations	Chi-square (df)	Level of Significance
1	S-3	30.54490 (18)	.0325 *
2	S-6	34.15152 (22)	.0474 *
3	S-10	15.58726 (8)	.0487 *
4	S-11	43.55439 (20)	.0017 **
5	S-14	46.77193 (16)	.0001 **
6	S-15	39.91280 (20)	.0051 **

NB: (1) Figures in the parentheses indicate the df

(2) * $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

TABLE 4.22

Chi-square Values and their Level of Significance Showing the Relationship between 'Medium of Education at College' and the Situations

Sl.No.	Situations	Chi-square (df)	Level of Significance
1	S-5	25.19563 (12)	.0139 *
2	S-6	43.75302 (22)	.0038 **
3	S-9	26.08681 (12)	.0104 *
4	S-15	44.29610 (20)	.0014 **
5	S-22	25.84517 (14)	.0271 *
6	S-26	43.36111 (22)	.0043 **

NB: (1) Figures in the parentheses indicate the df

(2) * $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

A look at the tables (4.23 and 4.24) reveals that the influence in terms of categories of expressions is also not significant though TABLES 4.21 and 4.22, the chi-square tables, again reveal levels of significance at .05 and .01. The reasons for our interpretation are the same as given earlier: very small numbers in certain categories and computation of chi-square values on the basis of individual expressions.

TABLE 4.23

Percentage Distribution of Respondents of the Three Medium of Education at School on the Use of Expression in Six Situations

	S-3(MDS)			S-6(HDS)			S-10(LDS)		
Exprs.	Hin.	Eng.	Oth.	Hin.	Eng.	Oth.	Hin.	Eng.	Oth.
Hi	26.3	26.4	0.0	76.3	78.9	60.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mo	55.3	52.6	40.0	15.8	15.8	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Lo	17.1	21.1	60.0	3.9	5.3	5.3	57.9	78.9	100
No	0.0.	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	40.8	21.1	0.0
Ot	1.3	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0.	0.0

Table continued

	S-11(HDS)			S-14(HDS)			S-15(MDS)		
Exprs.	Hin.	Eng.	Oth.	Hin.	Eng.	Oth.	Hin.	Eng.	Oth.
Hi	61.8	57.9	20.0	86.8	73.7	40.0	46.0	31.6	60.0
Mo	32.9	42.1	60.0	11.8	21.0	40.0	46.0	57.9	20.0
Lo	5.2	0.0	20.0	1.3	5.3	20.0	6.5	10.5	20.0
No	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ot	0.0.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0

NB: Hin. = Hindi, Eng. = English, Oth. = Other

which are as follows:

Expressions	Hindi (76)	English (19)	Other (5)
1	0	0	1
2	0	0	1
4	17	3	0
5	3	2	0
6	7	0	0
7	1	1	0
8	6	2	1
10	15	5	0
11	27	6	2

A scatter like this for an individual expression is bound to give the kinds of chi-square values, levels of significance, etc. that we have got. But when we cut across to the percentage tables we see that no significant generalizations are possible here. In both the tables, the percentages generally conform to the predicted pattern, if we exclude the 'other' category which by its small number produces some skewing. The only slightly uncomfortable figure occurs in TABLE 4.24 for S-15 where for a MDS, Hindi - medium - at - college respondents seem to prefer Hi category expressions for what is a MDE (57.7%). But it is very hazardous to make any generalizations on the basis of a lone figure and we shall not attempt it.

VII The Effect of Work-Status

For the purpose of our study three categories of Work-Status

were relevant (Student, Housewife and Employed) since these three categories exhausted all our respondents. Their respective numbers were as follows:

Work-Status	No. of Respondents
Students	17
Housewives	15
Employed	68
	100

As the following table (4.25) shows, six of the situations show significance level below .05, four of them below .01.

TABLE 4.25

Chi-square Values and their Level of Significance Showing the Relationship between Work-Status and the Situations

Sl.No.	Situations	Chi-square (df)	Level of Significance
1	S-1	33.94671 (22)	.0497 *
2	S-5	31.30125 (12)	.0018 **
3	S-15	33.75714 (20)	.0278 *
4	S-19	43.86184 (20)	.0016 **
5	S-22	36.98761 (14)	.0007 **
6	S-24	30.62442(14)	.0063 **

NB: (1) Figures in the parentheses indicate the df

(2) * $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Since the numbers of respondents belonging to each of the categories here are not very small, a closer scrutiny of the situations which show good significance levels may prove rewarding. Let us first also present the category-wise percentage of expressions used for this purpose.

TABLE 4.26

Percentage Distribution of Respondents of the Three Work-Status on the Use of Expressions in Six Situations

	S-1(HDS)			S-5(LDS)			S-15(MDS)		
Exprs.	Stu.	H.Wi.	Empl.	Stu.	H.Wi.	Empl.	Stu.	H.Wi.	Empl.
Hi	11.8	40.0	41.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	29.4	66.6	42.7
Mo	35.3	26.7	17.7	0.0	33.4	4.4	58.9	26.7	48.5
Lo	35.3	13.3	10.3	100	60.0	92.6	11.8	6.7	7.4
No	17.6	6.7	27.9	0.0	6.7	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ot	0.0	13.3	2.9	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	1.5

Table continued

	S-19(HDS)			S-22(LDS)			S-24(LDS)		
Exprs.	Stu.	H.Wi.	Empl.	Stu.	H.Wi.	Empl.	Stu.	H.Wi.	Empl.
Hi	70.5	40.0	61.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9
Mo	23.5	46.7	29.4	11.6	0.0	1.5	0.0	39.3	8.9
Lo	5.9	0.0	5.9	70.7	100	94.1	100	60.0	88.2
No	0.0	0.0	1.5	11.8	0.0	4.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ot	0.0	13.3	1.5	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

NB: Stu. = Students, H.Wi. = Housewives and Empl. = Employed

A quick look across the columns for each of the situations reveals somewhat less degree of agreement regarding the category of expression to be used among the different categories of respondents than we have seen for other variables indicating that the work-status of the respondents has some effect on the choice of expression and to that extent limits the application of our criteria. Consider S-1, for example, a HDS by our criteria - only 11.8% of students (as against around 40% of housewives and employed persons) would use a HDE in this case. What is even more of a surprise is that 35.3% of students would in fact use a LDE. Despite the rather large role of subjectivity that S-1 allows, which has prompted us to label it as a problematic case, these figures are surprising. Concentrating, however, on the variation across categories of respondents, S-5 reveals only 60% housewives using a LDE in a LDS as against 100% students and 92.6% employed persons. The special preference of housewives are

also reflected in the figures for S-15, S-19 and S-24. Apparently there is something about the work-status of housewives which makes them perceive the situations somewhat differently from students and employed people. This difference cannot be stated in terms of over - or under-estimation of the gratitude values of actions but must be stated separately for each situation in terms of its special features.

In S-1, housewives seem to be close to the norm in the sense that the incidence of HDE's in their case (40%) is almost the same as that for employed persons (41.2%). It appears (to risk a generalization) that (unemployed) students claim a greater right on their brothers than do married sisters or employed brothers. A comparision with S-19, a parallel situation with a friend replacing the brother, bears this out. 70.5% students do not think a MDE or LDE will do. In this respect most employed people also agree with them. Housewives, on the other hand, seem to make no particular distinction between a brother and a friend in such matters.

In all the remaining situations, except S-22, the housewives, as compared to students and the employed seem to over - estimate the gratitude involved. Where the students and the employed are almost in all cases content to use a LDE (as in S-5 and S-24), a sizable percentage of housewives would use a MDE, whereas in S-15, the majority of students and the employed would use a MDE or LDE, most housewives would use a HDE. In view of this general pattern, the 100% use of a LDE in S-22 by

housewives comes as a surprise. The situation which involves the respondents' response to a compliment to a painting is classified as a LDS, since few of the students and the employed feel gratified enough to use a MDE but none of the housewives! Interestingly all the other situations are of a practical sort: getting small change from a bank (context: shortage of coins during the test period?), securing a better job through the assistance of the present boss, even receiving directions from a stranger in a new place. Does this indicate that the value system of a person may also have a role in the way he evaluates gratitude? If it does, we have here another limitation on the absolute applicability of our criteria.

Section C

The variables that we have so far studied have involved characteristics of individuals: sex, age, religion, level of education, etc.. We had hypothesized (Ch. III) that the choice of expressions may be affected not only by characteristics specific to individuals but also by the nature of relationship between S and H. In the previous section we have already seen that the nature of relationships between the S and H plays a role affecting the S's choice of expressions. We have in fact seen that the choice is affected to the extent of making a switch from one category of expressions to another and not just within the category. It is rather difficult to quantify this factor, which is the reason why we have not set it up as a variable. Though

different kinds of relationships can be labelled (e.g. kinship, friendship, rank, neighbour, etc. , setting them up as different variables is rendered difficult by the fact that each of them involves a scale. Friendships may be close or not so close, rank may involve several steps higher and lower than S. Kinships may be close and distant, and so on. In a large study one could possibly achieve some kinds of results by postulating several multipoint scales, but a study of the present size does not provide enough scope for such an analysis. Nor does such an analysis form the main object of this study.

Since, however, we wish to make some estimate of the effect relationships between S and H have on the choice of expressions, we shall take a look at the different kinds of relationships obtainable from our study and instead of several multipoint scales postulate a single scale of closeness and distance on which the different kinds of relationships are plotted on the basis of what we feel is a general perception of the nature of such relationships in the kind of educated middleclass society from which our sample is drawn. Though the scale must be somewhat arbitrary, this fact should not matter much as it will only serve as a point of departure and a framework of study. Wherever the findings do not conform to this hypothesized scale, the facts will be stated as they are and possible explanations proffered.

The scale, as conceived here, is a scale of distance from S. In addition to the notion of 'distance' the notion of 'direction

of distance' will also be relevant in some cases. 'Direction' is to be viewed as direction in a hierarchy, i.e. upwards and downwards. This notion will, however, not be relevant in all cases as for some the notion of distance will suffice. For example, though kinship can also be hierarchical, we are not required to call into service notions like 'higher kin' and 'lower kin'.

Three kinds of relationships will be plotted on this scale: rank, kin and friend. Rank will involve direction: superior in rank, inferior in rank and equal in rank. Distance will operate in the first two cases, equal in rank will also be considered closest. Kinship is non-hierarchical and the only kin occurring in the study is 'brother'. 'Friend' is also non-hierarchical. Since, in fact, no degrees of friendship are mentioned in the hypothesized situations and only 'friend' is mentioned, distance would also not be involved if only 'friend' were considered. However, the situations also mention 'stranger' and 'neighbour'. Instead of having these as separate kinds of relationships we can include them on a scale of friendship. Somewhat arbitrarily, but not totally without reason, we rank them on the Distance-from-the-Speaker scale as follows:

S - friend - neighbour - stranger

It is more of a problem to incorporate **rank** in this scale. On the basis of experience of the kind of society under study, one of superior rank (unless he has become a 'friend') would be

placed between 'neighbour' and 'stranger' in the scale of Distance-from-the-Speaker, while one of equal (which includes slightly higher or slightly lower) rank would be placed more or less at the same distance as 'neighbour', since he is a kind of 'neighbour at work'. Since, however, a neighbour is a 'round-the-clock' and 'whole family' colleague, we could place the 'neighbour' a bit closer than the 'equal rank colleague' but still keep him one step beyond the 'friend' thus allowing the neighbour the opportunity of becoming a 'friend' if he so wishes.

At this stage, the scale looks as follows:

S - friend - neighbour - equal rank colleague - superior rank colleague - stranger.

'Kin' considering that only a brother is involved, would be placed before 'friend' without much dispute. What poses a real problem is a 'colleague' very much junior in rank. As the data discussed below will show, the problem seems to arise only when the rank-differences result in a social-class difference too. Since the dimensions of the study cover only the middle-class, it is not altogether unexpected that a problem will arise when a situation cuts across social classes. The present study is not equipped to deal with social class differences, but the problem to be faced will indicate the kind of phenomenon that a social-class oriented study will have to account for.

Our final version of the Distance-from-the-Speaker scale is therefore the following:

S - brother - friend - neighbour - equal rank colleague - superior rank colleague - stranger

Hypothesis 3. Our hypothesis with regard to the nature of relationship between S and H on the use of expressions is as follows:

'For any expression of gratitude belonging to a designated category, Ei, which is hypothesized to occur as the response in a situation of the corresponding category, Si, the fluctuation of Ei towards Ei + 1 (where Hi > Mo > Lo > No) will be at least partially explained by the distance between S and H on the Distance-from-the-Speaker scale, i.e. the greater the distance of H from S on this scale, the greater the likelihood that the expression used will belong to a higher category than the one which is appropriate to the situation according to the criteria of classification used.'

As we have noted earlier (Ch. II) the classification of situations into HDSs, MDSs and LDSs has been dictated by the conditions set out by us in the theoretical chapter. This classification has been confirmed by the discovery (Ch. III) that in almost all cases, the largest number of respondents have chosen an expression of the corresponding degree of gratitude, though in some cases the largest number may not be the majority. We have, however, admitted (Ch. III) that due to various factors, exact correspondence may not be expected and we have therefore allowed one degree of overlap in the category of expressions on either side. While this latitude gives us hundred

percent confirmation, it is too large a latitude and it is only desirable that wherever sizable overlaps or fluctuations occur they should not go without some attempt at explanation. The study of the effect of various 'individual characteristic' variables was one attempt of this kind. The present hypothesis is another.

Evidence:

The study was not originally designed to test a hypothesis of this sort. At the stage when the hypothetical situations were constructed and responses elicited from respondents, a role for such a variable (relationship between S and H) was not envisaged, hence the situations were not constructed from this point of view. This has proved to be a big handicap in arriving at any useful generalizations since these could have been derived only if the situations were held constant except for this variable. In the absence of this input, we have to rely on approximation cases and the results are not fully reliable. On the plus side, one may, however, count it a benefit that since the cases were not tailor-made, the findings are thoroughly objective.

Starting from the point nearest to S on the scale, we have clear evidence for the hypothesis in cases S-1 and S-19. Of course, both are HDSs and there are no expressions higher than the Hi category. Hence we rely on the number of responses belonging to each category. The situations are identical. H helps with a large sum of money, which he borrows, to enable you

to go abroad for higher education except for H being S's brother in S-1 and a friend in S-19. The figures are as follows:

TABLE 4.27

Frequency of Respondents Using the Different Categories of Expressions in the Two Situations

Situations	Degree of Situation	Hi	Mo	Lo	No	Ot
S-1	HDS	36	22	15	23	04
S-19	HDS	60	31	05	01	03

Particularly noticeable are the 60 HDE's in the case of the friend (against 36 in the case of the brother) and 23 Nos against 1 No. The fewer moderate category respenses in the case of the brother and the fewer low category responses in the case of the friend are also according to the pattern. The respondents obviously feel closer to the brother on the whole, and do not consider it obligatory to reward him with HDEs. In fact 23% of them do not consider it neccessary to use an expression of gratitude at all!

For us to establish that 'brother' is closer to S than all others on the scale, we should be able to make similar comparisons of 'brother' with all the others. For the reason stated earlier, such comparisons are unfortunately not available. However, a comparison of S-1, which is a HDS, with some MDSs reveals that there may be some truth in our hypothesis. In a

MDS, we should expect much fewer HDEs than in the case of S-1. Obviously, therefore, if there are MDSs in which the number of HDEs is higher than or equal to 36, it must be taken as an indication that H involved in those situations is farther away from S on the scale than 'brother'. A look at S-15 (boss = superior rank colleague), S-18 (stranger), S-26 (neighbour), S-4 and S-29 (friend) shows that H's in these cases are certainly at a greater distance from S than 'brother', though their relative distances cannot be worked out on the basis of such slender evidence.

TABLE 4.28

Frequency of Respondents Using the Different Categories of Expressions in the Six Situations

Situations	Degree of Situations	Hi	Mo	Lo	No	Ot
S-1	HDS	36	22	15	23	04
S-15	MDS	44	47	08	00	01
S-18	MDS	41	51	06	00	02
S-26	MDS	36	54	09	00	01
S-4	MDS	43	51	06	00	00
S-29	MDS	43	49	06	01	01

When we start looking for similar comparisons to establish the relative positions of the other H's on the scale, we face the problem of comparability of situations. Though situations have

been classified into HDSs, MDSs and LDSs, there are considerable differences among situations in the same category. This is inevitable since each of the categories also represents a range. In the high category, for example, situations which involve the saving of S's life by H are naturally very much more likely to elicit HDEs than those which involve helping with money or other resources. Comparisons between such situations are unlikely to be of any value since the intrinsic 'gratitude value' of a situation outweighs the other considerations. Our comparisons, therefore, must be based on a selection of 'comparable' situations, which further restricts the range of relevant data.

We may, for example, compare S-27 and S-30, both HDSs. In S-27 a 'stranger' saves S's life by donating a kidney, in S-30 a 'friend' saves his life (or very serious injury) by switching off the mains when S happens to touch a live electric wire. Even these two may not be quite comparable since the former, apart from almost certain death, involves considerable sacrifice on the part of H, while the latter, despite the use of the phrase 'saves your life' in the description of the situation, may not be perceived as involving certain death and, of course, involves no great sacrifice on the part of H. However, if they are considered comparable, the higher frequency of HDEs in S-27 would support our hypothesis to some extent.

Certain other comparisons do not support our hypothesis quite fully. A comparison of S-11 and S-25, which we consider comparable, is a case in point. S-11 involves a situation in

which a wealthy 'friend' saves S from being thrown into the streets by buying up the house from which S is to be evicted and by offering the house to S for repurchase on small instalments. S-25 involves a situation in which your neighbour bails out your brother from police custody at a time when your mother is ill and you are away from home. The number of HDEs in the case of S-11 is higher (59) than in the case of S-25 (53). If the situations are indeed equivalent, we should, according to our scale, expect fewer HDEs in S-11 than in S-25. Given the actual figure, three possiblities are open: 1> the situations are not equivalent 2> the scale is wrong in putting 'friend' closer to S than 'neighbour', 3> the hypothesis is wrong. Given the very slender data at our disposal, it is not possible to say anything with confidence. Perhaps another study could take the problems into account and build the neccessary parameters into the design of the study.

A couple of comparisons of MDSs involving 'friend' and 'neighbour' produce the same indeterminate results and leave open the same set of possibilities. S-29, in which a friend comes to S's help when S's house has been burgled, may be compared with S-26, in which a neighbour fetches the doctor when S is sick. The number of HDEs used for S-29 is higher (43) than for S-26 (36). We may similarly compare S-26, with its 36 HDEs, with S-4 with its 43 HDEs. In S-4, a friend gets S some sort of a job which helps him tide over his financial difficulties. One would normally estimate the gratitude-value of S-4 higher than that of

S-26 but this would be counter-balanced, according to our scale, by a friend's closer (to S) position on the distance scale. The higher number of HDEs, however, does not reflect this. It is just possible that the positions of 'friend' and 'neighbour' may need to be interchanged on the distance scale but it might be better to leave the matter to be settled by a larger and a more pointed study.

Though a few more comparisons of this kind can be attempted, it does not seem fruitful to do so. No meaningful comparisons can be made till the situations are properly controlled. At the same time, it does not seem quite right to claim that 'the nature of relationship' has no effect whatsoever on the use of expressions and that the choice of expressions is determined wholly by the intrinsic gratitude-value of H's action however much some of the cases might point towards that conclusion.

Conclusion

Our conclusion with regard to the effect of 'the nature of relationship' on the choice of expression, therefore, must be that the evidence is inconclusive. This is not surprising as the study was not designed to test any hypothesis in this regard. However, the discussion above may have presented some concepts and instruments that could be of use in a study specifically addressed to this question.

One or two additional points also emerge. First, it seems clear that the question of choice of expression seems to be relevant only in the case of HDSs and MDSs. Therefore it is only

cases belonging to these categories which may provide relevant evidence for the hypothesized relationship between 'the nature of relationship' and 'choice of expressions' and for the 'Distance-from-the-Speaker scale' which bears on it. As we reach the lower end of the gratitude scale, the variation in 'the nature of relationship' seems to cease to matter, as the overwhelming number of LDEs (or LDEs + Nos) in the case of LDSs show (see TABLE 4.1). As we have mentioned earlier (Ch. III), at the lower end of the scale, fixed polite expressions take over and there is little variation. The conditions set out in Ch. II, properly applied, will account for all types of situations in the LDS category.

Except one. The relevant situation is S-28 in which (a common enough situation) an attendent (or peon) working in your office obliges you by making train reservations for your personal travel. The attendant has certainly gone out of his way to help you, the 'duty' factor is not operative, and a piquant situation is created by his refusing to accept <u>baksheesh</u>, which would have 'nullified' the need for an expression of gratitude/politeness. The situation, though quite common, is rather unique from our view point. Had the obligation been of a very high order (as in S-6), a more or less unambiguous response would have been elicited; had the 'duty' factor been prominent (as in S-10), again there would be no ambiguity in response. But the situation is not a 'HDS', and the 'duty' factor is missing. The response is 'wavering': though 58 respondents use a LDE, 3 use a HDE, 19

use a MDE, 15 use no expression at all, while 5 would use some other expression which they do not specify. The occurrence of 3 HDEs and 19 MDEs is highest for any LDS.

Objectively speaking, an office attendant is a colleague at office, junior in rank to S, since S is an educated 'middle class' person. In our distance scale, no place has been identified for a 'junior rank colleague'. One reason, of course, is that LDSs were not considered very relevant in the postulation of the scale and a junior rank colleague happens to figure only in the kind of ethos that characterizes the studied society, a peon falls outside the middle class network. In a stratified society, as also in a society with clear occupational divisions, the modes and mores of conduct are well-defined both in-group and out-group. But when an out-group member has to be treated as an in - group member, (e.g., when a member of the lower-class has to be treated, for whatever reasons, as an equal or superior, even if temporarily) the responses of the affected person are likely to fluctuate uncertainly and show inconsistency across individuals, since the interactional situation violates the established forms. In terms more specific to the present case, our respondents are more at ease when responding to obligations by fellow middle-class persons (S-2), or persons from the lower-class when they are within their well-defined ambit (S-10), or complete strangers (S-17), since the norms are well-established, but when placed in a situation where the established norms fail (acceptance of <u>baksheesh</u> would probably have conformed to the

norm and produced a different response pattern, but we do not know), the responses are unsure and wavering. Although we have ruled out any attempt on our part to fix the relative positions of the different category of Hs on the distance scale, it would seem to us, from the slender evidence at hand, that even a study purposefully directed to this goal would find it hard to fix on the same scale persons with varying social class membership.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

"We gave you the opportunity of it," the Red Queen remarked: "but I dare say you have not had many lessons in manners yet?"

"Manners are not taught in lessons," said Alice. "Lessons teach you to do sums and things of that sort."

[Alice in Wonderland, Book II]

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

We have tried to do the following in the present work.

1. We have attempted to formulate two basic principles, the Principle of Individual Existence and the Principle of Social Existence, which, or rather the interaction of which, provides an explanation of polite behaviour. To the extent verbalization of politeness is part of polite behaviour, the principles form the basis of explanation for the use of polite expressions as well.

2. We have tried to identify the major forms of polite behaviour on the basis of the two principles formulated by us instead of simply formulating rules and maxims for whatever forms of polite behaviour one may have gathered from experience. The four types identified by us may not represent an exhaustive classification but they do represent an attempt to provide a theoretical framework for the study of all polite behaviour. We have tried to develop a comprehensive perspective on the study of polite verbal behaviour which goes beyond the individually restricted approaches based on the situational, the stylistic, the conventional or the interpersonal features involved in an instance of such behaviour.

3. We have tried to delimit and contextualize the notion of politeness by bringing into the study the notion of gratitude and by making a comparative evaluation of

verbalization of politeness and gratitude. When does an expression of politeness become an expression of gratitude? The two notions are obviously related since we cannot imagine an expression of gratitude which is impolite. At the same time the two are not identical. What differentiates the two?

4. We have tried to explicate the two notions by setting out two sets of conditions: one set for politeness and another set for gratitude. The relationship between the two is captured by making the first set of conditions (for politeness) common to both. An expression counts only as an expression of politeness if it meets the conditions of the first set only; it counts as an expression of gratitude if in addition, it also meets the conditions of the second set.

5. The conditions of gratitude are such that they give rise to a scale: the conditions may be fulfilled to a lesser or a greater degree. This circumstance yields the notion of 'degrees of gratitude'. A precise measurement of the degree of gratitude involved in a situation, or conveyed by an expression being an impossibility, a three-point scale (containing the points High, Mid and Low) is devised for use in the study. It is also pointed out that the Low end of the scale fades out into simple politeness, thus making the distinction between gratitude and politeness largely a matter of degree rather than one of kind.

6. We have postulated that the use of expressions of politeness

and gratitude in a speech community is largely governed by the factors set out in 1-5 above. However, the actual choice of an expression in a given situation may also be influenced by other socio-psychological variables as well. We identified Sex, Age, Religion, Mother Tongue, Educational Qualification, Medium of Education at School and College and Work-Status as some of the variables which may be relevant.

7. In addition to the variables listed in 6, we have also postulated the nature of relationship between the participants in a given situation as an important variable affecting the choice of an expression.

8. We have tried to put the theory embodied in 1-7 above to an empirical test by conducting a study of the expressions of politeness and gratitude used by the urban educated middle-class speakers of Hindi-Urdu in the city of Kanpur. For the purposes of the study, a set of expressions (of politeness and gratitude) were pre-selected and graded according to the degree of gratitude they expressed through a pilot study. Later a set of hypothetical situations were constructed conforming to the sets of conditions of politeness and gratitude proposed in the theory. The situations ranged on the scale of gratitude from high to low depending on the degree to which the conditions of gratitude were realized in them. It was hypothesized that if the conditions set out by the theory were valid, the gradation of the situations would be independently confirmed by the speakers through their

choice of the expression to be used in each situation. The speakers' choices would later be also studied for the effect of the socio-psychological variables as well as the nature-of-relationship-between-participants-variable mentioned in 7.

9. The results of the study were subjected to detailed statistical analysis by a computer. The following main results were indicated:

   (a) The respondents' choice of expressions to be used in each hypothetical situation by and large confirmed our classification of the situations into high, moderate and low degree situations. Since the classification was based on the conditions of politeness and gratitude set out in the theory, the conditions and the principles on which they were based can also be considered to be, by and large, confirmed. The qualification 'by and large' must be maintained since one or two situations did not fall into the pattern, and a certain amount of lattitude in interpretation was necessary considering the subjective nature of the judgments involved.

   (b) Among the socio-psychological variables affecting the choice of expressions and thereby limiting the determining role of the theoretical variables, Religion, Educational Qualification, Medium of Education at School and College and Work-Status seemed

to play important roles while Sex and Age did not show any significant effect. Religion, and Educational Qualification seemed to have the most important roles. However, the role of these variables were seen to be important mainly in the choice of individual expressions: generally, except in the case of the variable Work-Status, the effect of the variables in determining the category of the expression to be used was not very significant. To this extent, the prominent role of the considerations set out in the theory is clearly established. In the case of the Work-Status variable, the highest variation across categories of expressions was noticed. Among the three categories of respondents in this variable, students, housewives and employed, the second category of persons tended to use expressions of a relatively higher degree of gratitude as compared to the others. We suggest that this may be partially due to other factors (e.g., a difference in the nature of relationship between the participants in the situations) though features inherent in the work-status of the respondents may also play a role.

c. The nature of relationship between the participants in a situation emerges as an important variable, but the variable was not built into the original study and, as such, the findings of the study do not offer any

conclusive answers to the questions raised by the role of this variable. In fact, a separate study may be required to investigate this issue. However, a tentative scale of Distance-from-the-Speaker is suggested on the basis of the findings. A more detailed study may indicate further elaborations of this scale. To what extent the findings of such a study will limit the role of the theoretical considerations offered by us remains to be seen.

Suggestions for Further Research

Apart from the suggestions for further research made in 9(c) above, we would like to note here some of the points that suggested themselves during the course of the analysis but which could not be incorporated in this work. Further work in the area may derive some advantage from these suggestions:

1. We found that since our statistical analysis of the data was situation-based we could not make any generalizations about either individual expressions, or categories of expressions. It, would have been very helpful to be able to make observations about the respondents' pattern of use of categories of expressions. For this an expression-based analysis was a pre-requisite. Such an analysis would have enabled us to examine the correlation between the use of the individual expressions and the categories of expressions and the socio-psychological variables and we would be in a position to answer questions like the following: For which

situations which categories of respondents preferred to use which categories of expressions? In which cases were the correlations significant? In the present study such questions have been answered for categories of expressions on the basis of percentage analysis, but a correlation analysis would have been more revealing. Such an analysis would of course have to be in addition to a situation-based analysis of the sort we have carried out.

2. Our construction of hypothetical situations suffers from lack of adequate control. Since the focus of the study from the very beginning was on seeking confirmation for the principles and conditions set out by our theory, the parameters involved in the socio-psychological variables received inadequate attention in the construction of hypothesized situations. In particular the parameters involved in the variable which we have labelled, 'Nature of Relationship between the Participants' could be built into the situations in a more contrastive manner. This was revealed to us when the results of our analysis indicated that a scale such as the Distance-from-the-Speaker scale may be an operative factor in determining the choice of expressions. A larger study which is focussed more specifically on the role of the socio-psychological variables would benefit significantly from this suggestion. We found in our study that in a few cases where the situation was constant except for a single variable (e.g.

the nature of relationship between the participants), some significant conclusions could be drawn.

3. A study more closely focused on the socio-psychological aspect will perhaps also feel the need to revise and elaborate our Distance-from-the-Speaker scale. A more strictly controlled set of situations such as suggested above would contribute significantly to this revision. In spite of the subjective variability inevitable in the respondents' judgments in such cases, it might be possible to establish some broad points on such a scale which would correlate with a patterned choice of expressions. This is because individual variability in such cases does not over ride the overall pattern of social relationships in any given society. The scale may differ from one society to another but it would be hard to accept that no such scale can be formulated for any society.

4. The notion of a scale of 'Distance-from-the-Speaker cannot, of course, be interpreted as an absolute determinant in the choice of expressions. A major reason for this is that at least certain points on the scale are represented by relationships which are changeable. For example, unlike 'Brother', 'Friend' is a changeable relationship. That the history of the relationship between the participants has a bearing on the choice of expressions is illustrated by the cases from Lakoff and Apte that we have discussed in Ch. I.

1. It is a moot point whether the norms that our theory

lays down for the use of expressions of politeness and gratitude to a friend and a stranger will also apply in a case where a 'friend' has become (or is to be treated as having become) a 'stranger'. If it is true that in such a case an expression of politeness like "Please" conveys a 'negative' feeling, then our Sincerity Condition of politeness does not hold since it requires an intention on the part of S to express positive feelings towards H. Accordingly, the expression is not an expression of politeness in this case. This however, does not seem to be a very sound solution, for it can be argued that there is actually no 'negative' feeling on the part of S. What we seem to need here is a relativized scale of Positive-Negative rather than an absolute scale such as we seem to have been working with. If we imagine a scale with three points 'Positive-Neutral-Negative', a static representation at any of these points will be perceived as labelled. But there is a sense in which any movement from Positive to Neutral will be perceived as a movement towards the Negative just as any movement from the Negative towards the Neutral will be treated as a positive movement. This means that while there is no negative feeling in the cited case, it is perceived as negative because of the movement from the Positive towards the Neutral. The problem is created by the confusion of the two scales - one static, the other dynamic, and the kinds of cases cited by Lakoff and Apte may be taken

care of without any modification in the theory, but attributing the misinterpretation to the confusion of the two scales. Future work may be expected to take up more cases of the kind for which the historical dimensions of the relationships cause apparent problems for the theory but for which solutions of the kind suggested are perhaps available.

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APPENDIX I

THE TWENTY-SIX EXPRESSIONS WITH THEIR ROUGH ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS

Hindi 1. main aapkaa yeh ehsaan jiivan bhar nahiin bhool saktaa/saktii

English 1. I can't forget this favour of yours for my entire life. (I shall never forget the favour you have shown.)

Hindi 2. main aapkaa/aapkii bahut ehsaanmand huun

English 2. I am grateful to you.

Hindi 3. Allah-taalaa aapko taa kayaamat barkaraar rakhhe

English 3. May God smile on you forever.

Hindi 4. main samajh nahiin paa rahaa/rahii huun ki main aapke ehsaan kaa badlaa kis prakaar chukaauun

English 4. I don't know how I can repay you for your kindness.

Hindi 5. dhanyavaad

English 5. Thank you.

Hindi 6. shukriaa

English 6. Thank you.

English 7. Thank you.

English 7. Thank you.

Hindi 8. main aapkaa yeh ehsaan jiivan bhar yaad rakhhuungaa/ rakhhuungii

English 8. I'll remember this favour of yours forever.

Hindi 9. aapkaa baRaa karam

English 9. I am grateful for your favour.

Hindi 1Ø. main aapkaa/aapkii mamnoon huun

English 1Ø. I am grateful to you.

Hindi 11. mere paas aapkaa shukriaa adaa karne ke liye alphaaz/shabda nahiin hain

English 11. I don't have words to express my thanks.

Hindi 12. shukriaa bepanaah shukriaa

English 12. Infinite thanks. (Thanks a lot.)

Hindi 13. dhanyavaad, bahut-bahut dhanyavaad

English 13. Many-many thanks.

Hindi 14. aapkii navaazish

English 14. You are very kind.

Hindi 15. main aapke ehsaan ehsaano kaa badlaa is janam mein nahiin chukaa saktaa/saktii

English 15. I can't repay your favour in this life.

Hindi 16. bahut-bahut dhanyavaad

English 16. Many-many thanks.

Hindi 17. aapne mujh par baRii meharbaanii kii hai

English 17. You have been very kind to me.

Hindi 18. main aapke is ehsaan kaa badlaa is janam mein nahiin chukaa saktaa/saktii lekin mere laayak koii sevaa ho to avashya bataaiyegaa

English 18. I cannot repay your obligation in this life but if I can be of any help to you please let me know.

Hindi 19. main aaj jo kuchh bhii huun aapkii hii meharbaanii se huun

English 19. Whatever I am today is because of your kindness.

Hindi 2Ø. main samajh nahiin paa rahaa/rahii huun ki main aapkaa kis prakaar shukriaa adaa karuun

Hindi 21. kyaa main aapse dhanyavaad kahuun?/kyaa mujhe aapse dhanyavaad kehnaa chaahiye?/ main aapse dhanyavaad nahiin kahuungaa

English 21. Should I thank you?/ Ought I to thank you?/ I shan't thank you.

Hindi 22. agar aap aaj na hote to main kahiin kaa/kii naa rehtaa/rehtii

English 22. Without you I would have been nowhere today.

Hindi 23. marne ke baad bhii main aapke ehsaan kaa badlaa nahiin chukaa saktaa/saktii

English 23. Even after death I can't repay your obligation.

Hindi 24. main aapke ehsaan/ehsaano ke bojh se dabaa/dabii huun

English 24. I am burdened with your obligation.

Hindi 25. main aapke is upkaar ke badle main agar aapke kisii kaam aa sakaa/sakii to main apne ko dhanya samjhuungaa/samjhuungii

English 25. If I can be of any use to you in return for the favour you have shown, I will consider myself fortunate.

Hindi 26. aapkii inaayat hai

English 26. You are very kind.

APPENDIX II

TRANSLATION AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE SITUATIONS

1. You want to go to a foreign country for some training for six months. Although at present you are unemployed but you know that if you do the training you will get a very good job. You are worried because you are falling short of ten thousand rupees. Your brother takes a loan of ten thousand rupees against his name and gives you the money. ------(HDS)
2. A lady living in your neighbourhood teaches in a school. You want to get your brother/child admitted to that school and so ask her to get a form from the school. She brings the form and gives it to you. ------ (LDS)
3. Your vallet/purse has fallen somewhere on the road. It contained some money, important papers and your house-address. A woman finds your vallet/purse and comes to return your vallet/purse, with its entire contents, to your house. ----- (MDS)
4. Your finiancial condition is not good. In order to live you must have a job but you are not getting one. Your friend, after some effort manages to get some ordinary job for you after sometime. ------ (MDS)
5. You need change for hundred rupees. You go to a nearby bank. The bank employee sitting at the counter gives you the change. -------(LDS)

6. You are doing some electric repairs. You are about to be electrocuted when your maid-servant switches off the mains and saves your life. ------ (HDS)

7. You are going home in your car. On the way the car breaks down. You leave the car for repairs and hire a taxi. The taxi driver leaves you home. ------ (LDS)

8. You go to put some jewellery in your bank-locker. By mistake you leave the locker open. An unknown employee of the bank comes to your house to tell you of your mistake. You immediately go and close the locker. ------ (MDS)

9. You are seriously ill and the doctor advises a blood transfusion. The blood of your blood-group is not available. You give this news over the radio and on television that whoever has the same blood-group should contact you immediately. A woman, on hearing this news, comes immediately for your help and donates blood without taking anything in return. You become well again. --- (HDS)

1Ø. You return home tired after the day's work. Your servant brings tea for you. ------ (LDS)

11. You have rencently got a job. You live with your family in a small house which is going to be auctioned. You are not in a position to buy that house. You are extremely worried. A feiend of your's is very rich and he persuades his father to buy the house. And because you want to purchase the house, he says that you stay in that house and pay-off the amount at your convenience and get the house transferred in

your name. ------ (HDS)

12. You have to leave the office early for some personal work. You are worried because you have also to finish your work. A lady working with you voluntarily opts to do your work so that you may go early. ------ (MDS)

13. You have to catch your office bus. Your neighbour is going somewhere in his car. He offers to drop you at the bus-stop and you accept his offer. ------ (LDS)

14. You go to the zoo with your family. Your younger brother/son is standing near the cage of the leopard. Suddenly the leopard catches the hand of the child. You become panicky but an unknown person standing nearby immediately stretches his hand towards the cage and as soon as the leopard pounces on him, he immediately pulls the child away. The child is no doubt seriously wounded but his life is saved. ------ (HDS)

15. You are in some job. You come to know that there is another job better than this and you can get it if some effort is made but for which the recommendation letter of your boss is neccessary. You tell your boss about it. He gives the recommendation letter and also personally meets your new boss to recommend your case. You get the job. ------ (MDS)

16. The electricity wire of the outer room of your house catches fire and the fire starts spreading. You don't know about it because you are in one of the inner rooms. A man going on the road sees this and immediately informs you. You become

very panicky and you don't know what to do but that man gathers courage and switches off the mains and helps you in extinguishing the fire. ------ (HDS)

17. You are going out of station. A man helps you to put your luggage in the train. ------ (LDS)

18. You go out of the city for some work. On returning your luggage gets stolen. You don't even have money to return to your city. A unknown man who has to come to your city, buys your ticket and gives you some money. On coming to your city, you take him to your house and give him the money. ---- (MDS)

19. you want to go to a foreign country for some training for six months. Although at present you are unemployed but you know that if you do the training you will get a very good job. You are worried because you are falling short of ten thousand rupees. Your friend takes a loan of ten thousand rupees against his name and gives you the money. ------ (LDS)

20. You are a teacher. A book written by you is published. The principal (a lady) of your college congratulates you. ------ (LDS)

21. You have an accident and you sustain minor injuries. An unknown person leaves you home in his car. ------ (MDS)

22. You are a very good artist. On seing one of your beautiful paintings your friend congratulates you. ------ (LDS)

23. Your brother/child studies in a school. Since you are poor you are unable to pay the child's fees. You talk to the principal of the school and he exempts the child from paying the fees. ------ (MDS)

24. You have come to this city for the first time. One day you lose your way. On your asking, a lady going on the road, tells you the way. ------ (LDS)

25. Your mother is ill. The police arrests your borther accusing him of some crime. Your neighbour knowns that your brother is innocent. Because you are not at home, he gets your brother released on bail. ------ (HDS)

26. You are very ill and want to go to the doctor. It is night and the doctor's house is very far. Your neighbour brings the doctor in his car and afterwards, drops him home as well. ------ (MDS)

27. You are very ill. Both your kidney's have failed. An unknown person, motivated only by the intention to do some good, without taking any money, donates one of his kidney's to you. ------ (HDS).

28. You have to go out of the city for some important work. A peon of your office, who lives near the station, on your request, gets the reservation done but refuses to accept any payment for his services. ------ (LDS)

29. There is a burglery in your house. Almost everything is stolen. One of your friends helps you a lot. He brings all the necessary things for all of you makes arrangements for

food etc. and also lends you some money. ------ (MDS)

30. You are doing some electric repairs. You are about to be electrocuted when your friend switches off the mains and saves your life. ------ (HDS).

APPENDIX III

CLASSIFICATION OF THE SITUATIONS IN TERMS OF HIGH, MODERATE AND LOW DEGREE

High	Moderate	Low
S-1	S-3	S-2
S-6	S-4	S-5
S-9	S-8	S-7
S-11	S-12	S-10
S-14	S-15	S-13
S-16	S-18	S-17
S-19	S-21	S-20
S-25	S-23	S-22
S-27	S-26	S-24
S-30	S-29	S-28

APPENDIX IV

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

BIOGRAPHICAL PARTICULARS OF THE RESPONDENT

1. Name

2. Sex:- Male/Female

3. Age:- (Tick the appropriate block)

   (a) 21 to 30 years

   (b) 31 to 40 years

   (c) 41 to 50 years

   (d) 51 to 60 years

4. Religion:

   (a) Hindu

   (b) Muslim

5. Mother Tongue:

   (a) Hindi

   (b) Urdu

6. Educational Qualification:- (tick the highest level of qualification)

   (a) High School

   (b) Intermediate

   (c) Bachelors

   (d) Masters

   (e) Professional

7. Medium of Education at School:-

   (a) Hindi

   (b) English

(c) Any other (Specify)

8. Medium of Education at College:-

(a) Hindi

(b) English

(c) Any other (Specify)

9. Work Status:-

(a) Student

(b) Housewife

(c) Employed (Specify the type of employment)

Instructions

In this questionnaire are certain situations which we face in our day-to-day life. Put yourself in each situation and say which expression (from the ones listed below) you would use in order to express politeness/gratitude. Write the number of the expression in the blank provided after each situation.

Thankyou

निर्देश

इस प्रश्नावली में कुछ ऐसी परिस्थितियाँ दी गयी हैं जिनका सामना हम दिन प्रतिदिन की जिन्दगी में करते हैं । आपको प्रत्येक परिस्थिति में अपने आपको रखकर यह बतलाना है कि आप इस परिस्थिति में (नीचे दिए गए कथनों में से) कौन सा कथन नम्रता अथवा कृतज्ञता प्रकट करने में प्रयोग करेंगे/करेंगी । हर परिस्थिति के बाद दिए गए रिक्त स्थान पर आप कृपया कथन की संख्या लिख दीजिए ।

धन्यवाद

EXPRESSIONS

E - 1.	थैंक्यू
E - 2.	मैं आपके अहसान/अहसानों के बोझ से दबा/दबी हूँ ।
E - 3.	धन्यवाद
E - 4.	मैं आपके अहसान/अहसानों का बदला इस जन्म में नहीं चुका सकता/सकती
E - 5.	मैं आपका/आपकी बहुत अहसानमन्द हूँ ।
E - 6.	मरने के बाद भी मैं आपके अहसान का बदला नहीं चुका सकता/सकती
E - 7.	शुक्रिया
E - 8.	मेरे पास आपका शुक्रिया अदा करने के लिए अल्फाज/शब्द नहीं हैं
E - 9.	आपकी नवाजिश
E -10.	अगर आप आज न होते/होती तो मैं कहीं का/की न रहता/रहती
E -11.	मैं आपका यह अहसान जीवन भर नहीं भूल सकता/सकती
E -12.	।कुछ नहीं।
E -13.	।अन्य कुछ। वर्णन कीजिए

SITUATIONS

1। आप किसी ट्रेनिंग पर छः महिने के लिए विदेश जाना चाहते/चाहती हैं । यद्यपि आप अभी बेरोजगार हैं पर आप जानते/जानती हैं कि यदि आप ट्रेनिंग कर लेंगे/लेंगी तो आपको एक बहुत अच्छी नौकरी मिल जाएगी । आप परेशान हैं क्योंकि आपके पास बाहर जाने के लिए दस हजार रूपये कम पड़ रहे हैं । आपका भाई आपको अपने नाम से कर्ज लेकर दस हजार रूपये देता है ।

2। आपके पड़ोस में रहने वाली एक स्त्री एक स्कूल में पढ़ाती है । आप अपने छोटे भाई/बच्चे का दाखिला उसके स्कूल में कराना चाहते/चाहती हैं और उससे स्कूल से एक फार्म लाने के लिए कहते/कहती हैं । वह फार्म लाकर आपको देती है ।

3। आपका पर्स कहीं सड़क पर गिर गया है । उसमें कुछ पैसे व जरूरी कागज थे और साथ ही आपके घर का पता भी था । एक औरत को आपका पर्स पड़ा मिलता है और वह सारे सामान सहित आपका पर्स आपके घर देने आती है ।

4। आपकी आर्थिक स्थिति ठीक नहीं है । अपना गुजारा करने के लिए आपको नौकरी करना आवश्यक है परन्तु कोई नौकरी नहीं मिल रही है । आपका/आपकी दोस्त कोशिश करके कुछ समय बाद आपको एक काम चलाऊ नौकरी दिलवा देता/देती है ।

5। आपको सौ रूपये की रेजगारी चाहिए । आप पास के एक बैंक में जाते / जाती हैं । कैश-काउन्टर पर बैठा एक बैंक कर्मचारी आपको रेजगारी देता है ।

6। आप अपने घर में बिजली का काम कर रहे/रही हैं । अचानक आप चिपक जाते/जाती हैं लेकिन घर की नौकरानी मेन बन्द कर देती है और आपकी जान बचाती है ।

7। आप अपनी कार से अपने घर जा रहे/रही हैं । रास्ते में आपकी कार खराब हो जाती है । आप कार बनने के लिए देते/देती हैं और एक टैक्सी करते/करती हैं । टैक्सी वाला आपको घर छोड़ता है ।

8। आप अपने बैंक के लॉकर में कुछ जेवर रखने जाते/जाती हैं । गलती से आपसे लॉकर खुला छूट जाता है । बैंक का एक अपरिचित कर्मचारी आपके घर आकर आपको आपकी गलती बताता है । आप तुरन्त जाकर लॉकर बन्द करते/करती हैं ।

9। आप बहुत बीमार हैं और डाक्टर आपको खून चढ़ाने के लिए कहता है । आपके ब्लड-ग्रुप का खून कहीं नहीं मिल रहा है । आप रेडियो और टेलीविजन पर यह खबर देते/देती हैं कि जिस व्यक्ति का ब्लड- ग्रुप आपका हो वह तुरन्त सम्पर्क करें । एक औरत यह खबर सुनकर फौरन आपकी मदद के लिए आती है और बिना पैसे आदि लिए अपना खून देती है । आप ठीक हो जाते/जाती हैं ।

10। आप सारा दिन काम करके, थककर घर लौटते / लौटती हैं । आपका नौकर आपके लिए चाय बनाकर लाता है ।

11। आपकी अभी नई-नई नौकरी लगी है । आप सपरिवार एक छोटे से मकान में रहते/रहती हैं जो कि नीलाम होने को है । आप अभी इस स्थिति में नही है कि वह मकान खरीद सकें । आप बेहद परेशान हैं । आपका एक मित्र बहुत अमीर है और उसके कहने पर उसके पिता वह मकान खरीद लेते हैं और ।क्योंकि आप वह मकान खरीदना चाहते / चाहती हैं।, आपसे कहते हैं कि फिलहाल आप इस मकान में रहिए और अपनी सुविधा के अनुसार धीरे-धीरे उनका सारा पैसा देकर मकान अपने नाम करवा लीजिएगा ।

12। अचानक आफिस से आपको कुछ अपने जरुरी काम से जल्दी जाना है । आप परेशान हैं क्योंकि आपको सारा काम भी पूरा करना है ।आपके साथ काम करने वाली एक महिला आपका काम खत्म करने के लिए कहती है जिससे आप जल्दी जा सकें ।

13। आपको अपने आफिस जाने के लिए बस पकड़नी है । आपका पड़ोसी अपनी काम से किसी काम से जा रहा है । वह आपको बस स्टाप तक छोड़ने के लिए कहता है और आप सहमत हो जाते/जाती हैं ।

14। आप सपरिवार चिड़ियाघर जाते/जाती हैं । आपका छोटा भाई/बच्चा तेंदुए के कटघरे के पास खड़ा है । अचानक तेंदुआ उस बच्चे का हाथ पकड़ लेता है । आप घबरा जाते/जाती हैं परन्तु पास खड़ा एक अनजान व्यक्ति तुरन्त अपना हाथ कटघरे की ओर बढ़ाता है और जैसे ही तेंदुआ उसकी ओर झपटता है वह तुरन्त बच्चे को खींच लेता है । बच्चा घायल तो हो जाता है पर उसकी जान बच जाती है ।

15। आप नौकरी करते/करती हैं । आपको पता चलता है कि एक इससे अच्छी नौकरी है जो कि प्रयत्न करने पर आपको मिल सकती है पर जिसके लिए आपके बॉस का अनुशंसा-पत्र जरूरी है । आप अपने बॉस को बताते/बताती हैं । वह अनुशंसा-पत्र तो देते ही हैं पर साथ ही आपके नये बॉस से खुद मिलकर आपकी सिफारिश करते हैं और आपकी काबिलयत बताते हैं । आपको नौकरी मिल जाती है ।

16। आपके घर के बाहर वाले कमरे में बिजली के तार में आग लग जाती है और काफी फैल भी जाती है । आपको यह बात पता नहीं है क्योंकि आप घर में अन्दर हैं । रास्ते में जा रहा एक आदमी यह देखता है और फौरन आपको बताता है । आप बहुत घबरा जाते/जाती हैं और आपकी समझ में नहीं आता है कि क्या करें, परन्तु वह आदमी हिम्मत करके मेन आफ करता है और आग बुझाने में आपकी मदद करता है ।

17। आप बाहर जा रहे/रही हैं । ट्रेन में सामान रखने में एक आदमी आपकी मदद करता है ।

18। आप किसी काम से शहर से बाहर जाते/जाती हैं । लौटते समय आपका सामान चोरी हो जाता है । आपके पास इतने भी पैसे नहीं हैं कि आप अपने शहर वापस आ सकें । एक अनजान व्यक्ति जिसको आपके ही शहर आना है, आपका टिकट खरीदता है और साथ ही कुछ पैसे भी आपको देता है । अपने शहर आने पर आप उसे अपने घर ले जाकर सारे पैसे चुका देते/देती हैं ।

19। आप किसी ट्रेनिंग पर विदेश जाना चाहते/चाहती हैं । यद्यपि आप अभी बेरोजगार हैं पर आप जानते/जानती हैं कि यदि आप ट्रेनिंग कर लेंगे/लेंगी तो आपको एक बहुत अच्छी नौकरी मिल जाएगी । आप परेशान हैं क्योंकि आपके पास बाहर जाने के लिए दस हजार रुपये कम पड़ रहे हैं । आपका/आपकी मित्र आपको अपने नाम से कर्ज लेकर दस हजार रुपये देता/देती है ।

20। आप टीचर हैं । आपकी लिखी एक किताब प्रकाशित होती है । आपके कालेज की प्रधानाचार्या आपको बधाई देती हैं ।

21। आप एक दुर्घटना का शिकार हो जाते/जाती हैं और थोड़ी चोट भी आ जाती है । एक अनजान व्यक्ति अपनी कार से आपको घर पहुँचाता है ।

22। आप बहुत अच्छे/अच्छी चित्रकार हैं । आपका एक सुन्दर चित्र देखकर आपका एक मित्र आपकी प्रशंसा करता है ।

23। आपका भाई/बच्चा एक स्कूल में पढ़ता है । आप गरीब होने के कारण उसकी फीस देने में असमर्थ हैं । आप स्कूल के प्रधानाचार्य से बात करते/करती हैं और वह बच्चे की फीस माफ कर देते हैं ।

24। आप इस शहर में पहली बार आए/आई हैं । एक दिन आप रास्ता भूल जाते/जाती है । आपके पूछने पर सड़क पर जा रही एक औरत आपको रास्ता बताती है ।

25। आपकी माँ बीमार है । पुलिस आपके भाई को किसी जुर्म के आरोप में पकड़ लेती है । आपका पड़ोसी जानता है कि आपका भाई बेगुनाह है । क्योंकि आप घर पर नहीं है इसलिए वह आपके भाई की जमानत लेकर उसे छुड़ा लेता है ।

26। आप बहुत बीमार हैं और डाक्टर के पास लाना चाहते/चाहती हैं । रात का समय है और डाक्टर का घर भी दूर है । आपका पड़ोसी अपनी कार से डाक्टर को आपके घर लाता है और बाद में वापस छोड़ भी आता है ।

27। आप बहुत बीमार हैं । आपके दोनो गुर्दे खराब हो गए हैं । एक अपरिचित आदमी केवल उपकार करने की इच्छा से प्रेरित होकर, बिना पैसे लिए आपको अपना एक गुर्दा दान कर देता है ।

28। आपको किसी काम से शहर से बाहर जाना है । आपके आफिस में काम करने वाला एक चपरासी जो स्टेशन के पास रहताहै, आपके अनुरोध करने पर आपका रिजर्वेशन करा देता है और बख्शीष लेने से इन्कार करता है ।

29। आपके घर चोरी हो जाती है । लगभग सारा सामान चोरी हो जाता है आपका एक मित्र आपकी बहुत सहायता करता है । वह आप सबके लिए आवश्यकता का सामान लाता है, भोजन आदि की व्यवस्था करता है और अपने पास से कुछ रूपये भी उधार देता है ।

30। आप अपने घर में बिजली का काम कर रहे/रही हैं । अचानक आप चिपक जाते/जाती हैं लेकिन आपका/आपकी एक मित्र वहीं है और वह तुरन्त मेन आफ करके आपकी जान बचाता/बचाती है ।

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